

FOREWORD.

These selections were originally prepared for His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa at the time when he was invested with powers in 1922. They are now being printed and published with his sanction and approval.

If they would instruct or interest Young Princes and other readers similarly situated even a little, the labour undertaken by the compiler would be deemed duly rewarded.

Any suggestions for correction and amendment by the readers of this volume will be thankfully received and an endeavour will be made to put them in the second edition if and so far as possible.

Brackets have been introduced in the book in many places to indicate that the language in them is put in by the compiler where necessary in order to make the sense complete of the extract apart from the book from which it is made.

REWA :

7th October, 1924.

COMPILER.

Prerogative to recognise Succession.

THE succession of a Chief to a Native State requires the recognition of the King's representatives. From this principle follows the further right of the British Government to settle disputed successions.

Lee-Warner: Native States, pages 322—323.



H. H. The Maharaja of Rewa.

SELECTIONS

for

YOUNG PRINCES

on

EFFICIENCY

AS A RULER

by

KESARI SINGH PANCHOLI, B.A., M.B.

Indian Tutor to His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

Part I—Personal Efficiency.

Part II—Administrative Efficiency.

Part III—Political Efficiency.

Dedicated
Most Respectfully
to
His Highness
Samrajya Maharaja Dhiraj
Shri
Maharaja Gulab Singhju Deva Bahadur
Maharaja of Rewa
by
the Compiler.

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PREFACE.

IN the following pages Mr. Kesari Singh has provided a well selected and well arranged series of extracts from Authors whose long experience in the education of youth and intimate knowledge of the problems of Indian States must command the respect and attention of his readers.

The book is primarily intended to assist and guide Young Maharajas in India and may be said to have attained this object.

Mr. Kesari Singh has held appointments in Indian States and in 1919 was selected for the post of Indian Tutor to His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa which he held till investiture of H. H. with powers in 1922.

In compiling this book therefore he has been able to draw upon his own personal experience and knowledge of the many difficulties that confront Young Rulers to whom its perusal will, I feel confident, prove of real value.

K. EVANS GORDON, I. A., MAJOR,
Guardian and Tutor

TO

H. H. the Maharaja of Rewa.

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SUBMITTAL.

IT is customary for those who wish to gain the favour of a prince to endeavour to do so by offering him gifts of those things which they hold most precious, or in which they know him to take special delight. In this way princes are often presented with horses, arms, cloth of gold, gems, and such like ornaments worthy of their grandeur. In my desire, however, to offer to Your Highness some humble testimony of my devotion, I have been unable to find among my possessions anything which I hold so dear or esteem so highly as the little volume which I now offer to Your Highness; and although I deem this work unworthy of Your Highness' notice, yet my confidence in your generosity assures me that you will accept it, knowing that it is not in my power to offer you a greater gift.

May I trust, therefore, that Your Highness will accept this little gift in the spirit in which it is offered; and if Your Highness will deign to peruse it, you will recognise in it my ardent desire that you may attain to that grandeur which fortune and your own merits presage for you.

Machiaveli: The Prince : pages 1 and 2.

Introduction.

YOU have now completed your minority and your education and ascended the throne of your ancestors; and you have already given proofs of becoming a capable Ruler and virtuous Prince, and, therefore, an ornament to your house and your class, a source of happiness to your State and its people, and of pleasure and satisfaction to the paramount British Government...

The Native States of India are just now passing through a critical period of their existence; their present fortunes are as different from the past as the future promise or threaten to be from the present...and unless you are content to continue the humdrum style of work (of olden days) and go where things and times will lead you and your State (you will find that the (task which devolves upon you is of heavy and exacting nature, and its successful performance, or even an honest endeavour to merit success would assuredly bring with it

its inevitable reward, here and hereafter—within your bosom a noble feeling of satisfaction ‘the purest allotted to man,’ of having done your duty, name and fame abroad, happiness to your fellowmen, credit to your family and increase of its claims on the homage and gratitude of your subjects, and the continued respect, esteem, and confidence of the Paramount Power...

It is true that you are not now an independent ruler, like your forefathers, at liberty to open and conclude hostilities with whom you please, and that all your activity must be confined to peaceful operations within your own dominions ; but, Maharaja, it must be remembered that peace has its victories as well as war, that the victories of peace are nobler and more beneficent to humanity, if less glittering or less bloody than those of the battlefield, and that it is the very dispensation which has deprived you of the opportunity of achieving the latter that renders it possible for, and even incumbent on, you...to pursue the former.

It is now the main business of your life to attain efficiency as a Ruler by

- (1) Exemplifying in your personal conduct those principles and virtues which would lead to your happiness (Personal Efficiency, Part I).
- (2) Adopting measures necessary to administer your State wisely and beneficently in accordance with the local requirements and increase the moral and material welfare of the millions who are committed to your charge (Administrative Efficiency, Part II) and
- (3) Maintaining intact the relations existing between the British Government and your State (Political Efficiency, Part III).

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political Recluse :
pages 1—37.*

PART I.

PERSONAL EFFICIENCY.

“ Exemplify in your personal conduct those principles and virtues which would lead to your happiness”.

PERSONAL EFFICIENCY

May be divided into —

1. Religious Efficiency.
2. Moral ,,
3. Mental ,,
4. Social ,,
5. Physical ,,

RELIGIOUS EFFICIENCY.

1. Religion.
2. The Presence of God.
3. Faith.
4. Prayer.
5. Meditation.
6. Truth.

Religion.

WITHOUT religion man is but the creature of a moment ; with it he is the child of eternity. Without the moral strength and guidance which religion imparts, government would be a curse, society would be on the road to ruin, the arts and amenities of life, which add to happiness or mitigate suffering, sweeten fellow-feeling and ennoble our nature in spite of its many aberrations under misguided influences or views of religion, would cease to exist ; while without the consolations and aspirations it holds forth, even the most exalted among men will find his earthly existence to be not only a vanity of vanities but also a dreadful dream.

Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political Recluse.
(1891) pages 23 and 24.

The Presence of God.

IF we could only feel God's presence, I am sure we should not be so prone to sin. If we could only feel God's Presence ! Think for a moment :—Feel God's Presence ! Could anything be more wonderful, and more grand ? For what does it mean ? It means that the great and holy God, of infinite goodness and wisdom and might, is ever near us, to help and guide us, as a father helps and guides his child. In everything that we do, we may make Him a partner. In everything that we say, we may speak with His voice. In everything that we think, we may think with His mind and heart. I mean that in all our actions, in all our words, and in all our thoughts, we may have Him with us, and then we shall be kept from sin. It is when we forget that He is with us—and how sadly often we forget ! do you think we ever really remember Him ?—that we are led into sin. Do you think, if you remembered that God was with you, standing by, hearing all you say, that you would ever dare to deceive ?

Do you think, if you felt that His eye was upon you, that you would ever waste your time ? Would you ever say an angry or unkind word, if you felt He was listening ? If you were conscious of His Holy Presence, could an impure thought ever enter your mind ? I do not think we should ever do wrong if we realised how near to us all God is.

*C. Macnaghten : Common thoughts on Serious
Subjects-(1912) pages 3 and 4.*

Faith.

THIS belief in God, though we cannot see Him, though we cannot sensibly *prove* that He exists, is what we call *Faith*. Faith enables us to accept as certain something outside the range of our vision, and beyond the experience of our bodily senses. And true faith implies not belief alone, but the conduct which naturally ensues from belief. Therefore, if our faith in God be true, we shall act in accordance with that faith ; we shall delight to keep Him in mind ; we shall delight to do His service. Have we, my friends, faith of this kind ? We say that we all believe in God : do we *act* as though we believed in Him ? Is not our faith sadly cold and weak ? Do we not often, for days and days, forget altogether that God is near us ? Do we not take the good things of this life as if they were the outcome of our own efforts, and not the gifts of His goodness and love ? Are we not, in the illusion of this world, prone to forget that He exists, and to think that the things which we see around us are all that we need to labour and live for ? I am afraid that

this has been the experience of most of us ;
and, if so, I say that, while we profess to have
faith in God, we are living without God: we
are living not by faith, but by sight.

*C. Macnaghten : Common thoughts on Serious
Subjects : (1912) page 7.*

Prayer.

WHAT is Prayer? It is nothing else than talking or holding conversation with God. And if we truly believe in God, we shall surely feel it a glorious privilege to be constantly (as it were) asking His counsel, relying (as it were) on the help of His hand, watching (as it were) for His approving smile. We shall feel that to have such companionship with us is to have Heaven here upon earth.

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To live a life of prayer is to live in submission to God's will, to take whatever comes as from Him, to take our blessings as His good gifts, our sorrows as part of His training, and to feel that, whatever happens, He is still over all, our Father and Friend.

*C. Macnaghten : Common thoughts on Serious
Subjects.-(1912) pages 9-11.*

Meditation.

THE busiest life should have some leisure for contemplation and thought. Such leisure is the food and the nourishment of all healthy action, and the strongest minds have most felt the need of it. We cannot lead true lives unless we think true thoughts. And all the great teachers of the world have taught that truth must be sought for in solitude—that it is not in the business of cities, or in the hum of human affairs, but rather in the desert calm, that God's voice is heard most clearly by man. It is, then, when a man is alone with himself that he learns to know himself and his duty. The time so spent in solitary musing can never be spent unprofitably. Then, when you meditate over your weakness, you will learn to be strong. In these hours of self-examination and reflection, when you are withdrawn from the turmoil of life, you stand, as it were, face to face with God, and draw your strength from Him.

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So I ask you to keep some stated times for thoughtful and careful meditation : meditation on those deep things which concern man's duty and the life of his soul. Fix some moments every day, and make these moments of tranquil meditation a regular habit of your life. They will be to you like halting places on life's toilsome journey, in which you may rest your harassed minds and gain strength for the road which lies before you : they will be like lamps to brighten life's gloom, and guide you through its perplexing shadows.

C. Macnaghten : Common thoughts on Serious Subjects
(1912) pages 168—172.

Truth.

DO we always say what is strictly true ? I am afraid that some of us, when we find it convenient for some petty purpose to substitute falsehood for truth, do so without much consideration of the great harm thereby done to our souls. For every departure from the truth is like a festering wound, turning that which was wholesome into disease, that which was righteous into sin. Why is this ?

“ Surely,” you may argue..... “ if by telling a lie I benefit myself while I do harm to no one, I shall be right to tell the lie which does no harm but only good. If I do no harm to others, may I not rightly tell a lie to save myself from disgrace ?”

My friends, if you have reasoned in this way, you have reasoned to your own destruction. For such a lie, more than anything else, tends to the destruction of your noblest self ; and, while you may outwardly seem to flourish, you are inwardly perishing, dying away ; living for this world, dying from

God. For, as I said, every lie which is spoken is as a wound to the soul, a wound which tends to kill it. And what do I mean by killing the soul? I mean that that part of us which is divine, and which keeps us in holy communion with God, is so scarred and marred that it loses God's image; and so we are severed—we sever ourselves—from Him who is the Health and the Life of our souls. For truth is of the very essence of God; and, if we depart from the truth in anything, we depart from God; and in departing from Him we depart from all that is really worth having, from all that is really precious and good. You see, then, what a poor thing it is to tell a lie, and what a wretched exchange we make when, for the sake of some small worldly gain, such as gaining money or avoiding punishment, we wilfully sever ourselves from God.

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But can it *ever* be good...that we should on exceptional occasions act exceptionally, and, for a good object, say what is not true? In such a case would not the good intention make the false word a good, though not a true; one? To that I can give only one

answer. That which is untrue can never be good, because that which is untrue can never be God's will. At every time, in every circumstance, to speak the truth is best. Though to us the consequences may *seem* to be unfortunate, we may safely leave them in God's hands. This I believe to be the true teaching: "Let us speak the truth always, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth"; and in so doing we shall keep near to God, and benefit our fellow-men. This indeed is the path which leads to honour even in this our transitory world.

C. Macnaghten : Common thoughts on Serious Subjects
(1912) pages 19-21.

MORAL EFFICIENCY.

1. Duty.
2. Daily Duties.
3. Zeal.
4. Personal Influence.
5. Gentleman.
6. Luck and Labour.
7. Firmness.
8. Anger.

DUTY.

WE are all agreed that there is such a thing as duty. We all believe that there is a course of action which is our duty, which is due from us, because it is right. If at any time we ask what our duty is, honestly seeking to do it, we shall find an answer, the best of all answers, in that voice of conscience within us all, to which I (have) referred as a something divine, as a voice from God.

Duty, then, for each one of us means what we ought to do. It does not mean exactly the same for us all: for of course the duty of a parent is different from that of a child; the duty of a Thakor Sahib is different from that of a Rajkumar; the duty of a teacher is different from that of a learner; the duty of a soldier is different from that of a cultivator. Still there are duties for us all, high and low, rich and poor, old and young, men, women, and children; every one of us has a duty, and the duty of each one of us is of two kinds (1) a duty to God, and (2) a duty to man.

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Now what is our duty to God? We cannot see Him like an earthly parent, but we can believe in Him by faith. We can love Him with all our hearts, because of His loving care for us. And we can strive to please Him in all things, in all that we do bearing Him in mind, just as a child is ever striving to please the parent whom he loves. This, then, is our duty to God : to believe in Him, to love Him, and to serve Him with all our might and with all our mind.

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What is our duty towards our fellow-man? This may be summed up in the short sentence : We should love our neighbours as we love ourselves. We should act towards our fellow-men as we should wish them to act towards us. We should seek not for our own pleasure but for the pleasure of others. It should be our greatest happiness to make others happy. This duty, too, is not easy ; but nothing is easy which is noble and good, and we must not be daunted by difficulties: there is nothing which we cannot overcome with God's help.

G. Macnaghten : Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects (1912) page 14-15

DAILY DUTIES :

OUR daily duties: we all have them. Though they may not all be of the same kind, yet they come alike to us all ; and they come with great regularity... From early morning till night throughout the working hours of the day, each one of us lives, day by day, a life which is made up of little duties,... succeeding one another in a constant and seldom-interrupted series. Each hour of every day so spent, or rather I may say each moment, whether it be spent in converse with your friends, or in work, or in play, or in any other manner, is really, though it seems so trivial, a very important matter ; for of these small parts your whole life is made up, as the ocean is of drops. And as is the part so will be the whole. “ Drop by drop you fill a lake.” It is the right use of small opportunities, the proper performance of life’s common duties, which, constantly repeated, will in the end give a noble character to our whole life.

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The performance of these little duties is not easy : and indeed in them, as in other matters, the greatness is to be measured by the difficulty. It is not easy to be always on guard : and yet we *must* be always on guard, if in every act of every moment we desire to act as we ought. It is not easy to be always kind, always considerate of others, always doing what should be done..... These things require great firmness of will, great watchfulness, great self-control ; indeed, they require more of these qualities—because they require a *habit* of them—than is required by a sudden call to perform some great act of heroism. Depend upon it, he who is best in the ordinary routine of daily life will also be best in the hour of need, in the time of sudden danger and trial. He is the real hero who conquers himself in every day life.

*C. Macnaghten . Common Thoughts on
Serious Subjects (1912) pages 44-45.*

ZEAL :

“**L**ET us always do our best.” In that short sentence is summed up all that is needed for the best life of all men ; all that conduces, within our own powers, to our health and happiness, to our goodness and welfare, to the honourable fulfilment of our duty...

“To do our best ” means, of course, to do good things in the best possible manner : for bad things can never be “our best.” And to do good things in the best manner is to do them with all our mind and strength, with energy, zeal and perseverance ; to do them with untiring devotion, with that enthusiasm which comes of love ; to do them as in God’s sight, and to Him.

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Therefore, I say, in all that you do, be zealous, be earnest, be single-minded ; do your best to do as well as you can the duty which lies before you.

If you have not striven to do this already, then I say *Begin to-day*. Of course the doing

of it is not easy ; and zeal and enthusiasm, like other things, cannot come to their full growth and strength all at once. But nevertheless I say, do your best ; be earnest in endeavour ; begin to-day.

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Do your duty, whatever it be, and do it with all your mind and strength. Your own mind and strength may perhaps seem too weak to enable you to overcome your natural unwillingness, your human disinclination ; but ask God's help, and, if you are in earnest, with Him to help you, you are sure to succeed.

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Our human natures are so constituted that we cannot do several things at once ; therefore whatever work we have in hand, whatever duty may for the time be before us, let us do that, and that only, with all our might...So I say, let us do one thing at a time; the thing which for the time is our *present* duty.

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Therefore I say, live in the present. Be bright and hopeful. Trust God. And work

hard. Think not of the past, with its dead opportunities ; think not of the future, with its unknown possibilities. But think only of the present ; think only of what is before you *now* ; of your duty of to-day ; and do it with all your heart and will. This is zeal ; this is the secret of all good and holy work in this world. For nothing can be done well unless it be done zealously.

C Macnaghten Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects (1912) pages 99-105.

PERSONAL INFLUENCE.

The example of every man of authority is attentively watched by all who are under him, and imitated. This makes the personal power of a leader a matter of very great public importance. On his conduct depends, to a large extent, the conduct of others.

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You who should by your birth be leaders, seek also to be great. Seek to use your influence so that you may lead others wisely and well. You must seek to enlarge your minds, strengthen your convictions, and make your wills firm. Study the lives of great men, study history, study yourselves. For unless you yourselves have knowledge, and unless you can lead yourselves, you cannot teach others to know, nor can you lead others rightly.

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No life on earth can be nobler than that of a good man placed in high authority, whose influence blesses all who surround him as it blesses himself.

C. Maonaghten: Common thoughts on Serious Subjects (1912) pages 175-182.

GENTLEMAN.

A Gentleman, then, may be high or low, rich or poor :—how shall we define him ?

He who thinks for the good of others : who does not think of himself : who, desiring to make life pleasant to all, is genial, bright, and kind : courteous in manner and in speech : self-denying : self-devoting : willing to sacrifice himself for the good of his fellow-men. The perfect gentleman must be unselfish, refined in feeling, noble in thought. And *any* man who forgets himself, and lives a life of regard for others, is sure, by the very fact of that life, to have some refinement and some nobility. Thus the simple husbandman in a village, who gives up his leisure and personal comfort for the comfort and improvement of his fellows, who listens with enthusiastic devotion to the sacred call of duty in his heart—this man, howsoever poor and uneducated, is at heart a gentleman. He raises to a new dignity himself and his village home.

And, if this is true of a village life, it is still more true of those higher homes, where ease

and independence, education and softness, add their graces to the strength of human character. A gentleman may, as I have said, be born in any sphere of life ; but it is more likely that he will be found in the cultivated grades of higher society. For it is here that refinement is commonly to be found-refinement that shows itself in every motion, every look, every tone of the voice, even in the expression of the face, even perhaps in the character of the dress. All is harmonious, all is graceful, all is pleasant, all is gentle.

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In a high and respectable family, the affections have full play ; the heart's best feelings may be evoked ; no selfish struggle for life is required ; there is time for the study of noble thoughts, for the companionship of noble minds ; human nature is seen on its brightest side, and human nature is elevated.

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Are you careful to show yourselves *gentlemen*, worthy of the high vocation to which you have been called ? Are you careful to take thought for the happiness of others, to be

courteous and considerate, kind and pleasant, in your dealings with all ? Do you keep down mean and selfish desires, and is it your ambition to show yourselves—as you very well may, even in common acts—worthy to tread in the footsteps of those who have been the greatest gentlemen.

C. Macnaghten : *Common thoughts on Serious Subjects* : (1912) pages 39—41.

Luck and Labour.

IT is not unknown to me how many have been and are of opinion that worldly events are so governed by fortune and by God, that men cannot by their prudence, change them, and that on the contrary there is no remedy whatever, and for this they may judge it to be useless to toil much about them, but let things be ruled by chance. This opinion has been more believed in our day, from the great changes that have been seen, and are daily seen, beyond every human conjecture.

When I think about them at times, I am partly inclined to share this opinion. Nevertheless, that our free will may not be altogether extinguished, I think it may be true that fortune is the ruler of half our actions but that she allows the other half or a little less to be governed by us. I would compare her to an impetuous river that, when turbulent, inundates the plains, ruins trees and buildings, removes earth from this side and places it on the other; every one flies before it, and everything yields to its fury without being able to oppose it; and

yet though it is of such a kind, still when it is quiet, men can make provision against it by dams and banks, so that when it rises it will either go into a canal or its rush will not be so wild and dangerous. It happens similarly with fortune, which shows her power where no measures have been taken to resist her, and turns her fury where she knows that no dams or barriers have been made to hold her. This must suffice as regards opposition to fortune in general. But limiting myself more to particular cases, I would point out how one sees a certain prince to-day fortunate and to-morrow ruined, without seeing that he has changed in character or otherwise. I believe this arises in the first place from the causes that we have already discussed at length ; that is to say, because the prince who bases himself entirely on fortune is ruined when fortune varies. I also believe that he is happy whose mode of proceeding accords with the needs of the times, and similarly he is unfortunate whose mode of proceeding is opposed to the times. For one sees that men in those things which lead them to the aim that each one has in view, namely, glory and riches, proceed in various ways ;

one with circumspection, another with impetuosity, one by violence, another by cunning, one with patience, another with the reverse ; and each by these diverse ways may arrive at his aim. One sees also two cautious men, one of whom succeeds in his designs, and the other not, and in the same way two men succeed equally by different methods, one being cautious, the other impetuous, which arises only from the nature of the times, which does or does not conform to their method of proceeding. From this results, as I have said, that two men, acting differently, attain the same effect, and of two others acting in the same way, one arrives at his good and not the other. From this depend also the changes in fortune, for if it happens that times and circumstances are favourable to one who acts with caution and prudence he will be successful, but if time and circumstances change he will be ruined, because he does not change his mode of proceeding. No man is found able to adapt himself to this, either because he cannot deviate from that to which his nature disposes him, or else because having always prospered by walking in one path he cannot persuade himself that it is well to leave it ; and therefore the cautious

man, when it is time to act suddenly, does not know how to do so and is consequently ruined ; for if one could change one's nature with time and circumstances, fortune would never change.

I conclude then that fortune varying and men remaining fixed in their ways, they are successful so long as these ways conform to each other, but when they are opposed to each other then they are unsuccessful.

The prince page 99-102.

Firmness.

FIRMNESS is a virtue which is desirable in all persons, and exceedingly desirable in those whom Providence has made Rulers. If a Maharaja is wanting in firmness, if he has one opinion at one time, and a different opinion at another, if he has one purpose at one time, and a different purpose at another, and if he orders one thing now, and orders, different thing shortly afterwards, it becomes very difficult to carry on public business.

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But the moment firmness is exercised in relation to wrong conclusions the quality ceases to be a virtue. It becomes a mischievous vice. It becomes simple obstinacy.

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(Therefore Your Highness should) make sure of your conclusions being right, and then act firmly in respect to (them). Firmness thus exercised is a great virtue in a Ruler,

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But human affairs are such that it is not always possible and desirable to exercise

firmness to its fullest extent, *i. e.*, to exercise inflexible firmness. It follows that it has sometimes to be judiciously relaxed with reference to the circumstances of each case as it presents itself.

When the firmness of one person encounters the firmness of another, some concession may have to be made for the sake of conciliation, peace and co-operation. In other words, some judicious compromise should be effected.

In public life the greatest men often exercise the spirit of compromise. So much is this the case that statesmanship is almost a series of compromises, no statesman expects to have his own way in all matters and at all times.

This must be well remembered lest (Your Highness) should (sometime) feel a false sense of humiliation and refuse all compromise and thereby draw down difficulties or dangers. A Ruler has often to give and take (as much as any other man).

Minor Hints: pages 31 and 32.

Anger.

(YOUR Highness) has need to be specially careful against the evils of anger. (You) should use (your) best endeavours to avoid anger altogether. Repeated efforts will establish the habit of taking things calmly and coolly.

Anger is an excitement of the mind which is, in many respects, like temporary madness. In that state of excitement, the mind takes one particular direction in violent manner, and is blind to those facts and reasons which require to be taken into account in order to form a sound judgment. In short, during anger, the most necessary and the most valuable faculty of judgment is in a state of paralysis.

In such a state of mind, the safest course to pursue is to altogether refrain from acting or even speaking in regard to the matter which has excited that state of mind. Better altogether drop the matter for the time, and turn to something else.

Minor Hints : pages 23 and 24.

MENTAL EFFICIENCY.

1. Education.
2. Historical Ideal.
3. Reading I, II, III.
4. Enjoyment of Life.
5. Life's pilgrimage.
6. Shortness of life.
7. Uncertainty of life.
8. Regularity of habit.
9. Earnestness.
10. Practical Experience.
11. Success.

EDUCATION.

A ruler's education, however, should be such as to fit him for the duties of his office ; and therefore his general culture must be supplemented by specific studies bearing on the problems of Government. "Life-lore is better than book-lore. It is greater and more fruitful to be learned in life than in books ;" and as rulers have to do with life and deal with men on a very extensive scale and with every variety and shade of character and condition much more than any subject can individually have to do, they must study life more than books or rather study books which open to view the springs of men's conduct in life. As to learning arts and acquiring accomplishments, rulers must aim at appreciating and encouraging them and not trying to excel in them themselves. Any undue attempt at the latter would not only present a pedantic example of misdirected ambition and culpable waste of energy, but

might also lead to an equally culpable neglect of the work which constitutes their first and foremost duty,

*Letters To An Indian Raja From A Political
Recluse pages 33 and 34.*

HISTORICAL IDEAL.

WE may take the history of any country and we will find the greatness of all its men)...is for our example. That is the use of history. Experience of other men read in histories, gives guidance for our own conduct in life. What has been may be, and shall be, and what man has done that man may do. Let us have a high historical ideal, some noble exemplar, whom we may imitate as well as admire. Most times and most places have had their heroes; but the merit of history is that it shows the heroes of all times, and of all places. So that choosing out of the whole world's experience--and not that tiny part of it in which we live--we may select for our own imitation the highest and noblest exemplar which hundreds of years have produced. So think of this when you read your histories; try to imitate the greatness of which you read. What great men have done, that you too may do; for you too are a man.

*C. Macnaghten: Common Thoughts on
Serious Subjects (1912). page 179-180.*

READING.

YOUR Highness's) studies (should) not be discontinued "after assuming power." It is most important that they should be continued on some fixed plan, A large portion of (Your Highness's) time and attention will of course have to be devoted to the official business. Yet time (however short) should be found for private study.

The object to be aimed at is (that Your Highness) should go on increasing (1) knowledge of the English language (and) (2) stock of useful truths.

The plan will no doubt include the regular perusal of some well-conducted newspapers. (Your Highness) should follow the current history of the world generally and of India and England in particular.

Speeches of great statesmen and debates in Parliament (especially about India)..... Almost everything which relates to the Native States of India and the Viceroy's speeches must not escape notice.

(Besides, your Highness may occasionally read) some biographies and novels calculated to inspire high ideal of human excellence.

The reading should be such as to bring (Your) Highness' mind into contact with large ideas and elevated sentiments, and to counteract the cramping influences of the ordinary company which is to be had in the Palace. The great danger to which (Your Highness) is exposed is that (you) are liable to limit (yourself) to such company whereby ideas will get dwarfed or contracted. (You are likely to) confine yourself to a narrow and fossilised world which shuts out the higher lights of a progressive age. The best antidote to this is that you should make (yourself) conversant with the thoughts of the most enlightened of mankind.

Minor Hints : pages 81—83.

II.

They, however, need not forego reading or intellectual engagements ; like all men of sound culture they may have their favourite subjects of study to which they may devote their leisure, and for which they will be all the better able to stand the demands of their ordinary work and the strain of onerous duties and cares of State. Nor, further, can they neglect, knowledge which bears even collaterally on that work or is calculated to advance its quality or success. These lines of study will suggest themselves in the usual course : the one to which I wish here to invite your particular attention is rather of a character which will, along with your general education, serve as an incentive to your future task. What I wish you to do is to study the lives of distinguished monarchs, wise statesmen, and philanthropic politicians or public men who have been inspired by constructive genius and a desire not so much to indulge in the exercise of their authority and parade their power and personality before the world as to devote their gifts and opportunities to the permanent good of their

countries, and have, by helping to advance the cause of human progress and repress human wrongs, contributed also to the lasting benefit of man-kind such, for instance, as Alfred the Great, Albert the Good, late Prince Consort, Elizabeth, and Victoria ; Peter the Great, and Frederick the Great ; Emperor Akbar and Ahilyabai Holkar ; General Washington, Dr. Franklin, Abraham Lincoln ; Cavour, Turgot, Pitt, Stein, Bismark ; Wilberforce, Cobden, Bright, and others. I may also suggest, as being worth your attention, the life of Shivaji, so far as it was reflected in his construction of the civil government and influenced by the spiritual teachings of Ramdas and Tukaram, as well as the career of Raja Savai Jayasing of Ambar of scientific fame, founder of the modern city of Jeypur in Rajputana, which of late years has in education and some other matters shown a commendably liberal spirit and promises to take among the Rajput States in the future the place of precedence occupied by Mewar in the past : also that of Jalamsing of Kotah.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political Recluse :
pages 34 and 35.*

III

Think of the boundless field of enjoyment which lies before you in reading, in books. And yet how comparatively little do we know of this vast region of happiness. I think it is specially true of India that people read, as a rule, very little, and so miss some of life's richest opportunities. I fear it is true that books as a rule, are not valued in India as they should be. Yet consider what books may mean for us : they mean for us all that is great and best in human experience, past and present. With books we may sit at home and visit the remotest countries without fatigue. With books we may quietly talk, face to face, with all the teachers, philosophers, poets, warriors, statesmen, whom the world has known ; we may be taught by their experience, we may be raised by their greatness. Through books we may know and love the noblest minds and characters of the world. So should they not be our constant companions and most trusted friends ? " I have friends," said the Italian poet Petrarch, " whose society is extremely agreeable to me ; they are of all ages and every

country. They have distinguished themselves both in the cabinet and in the field, and obtained high honours for their knowledge of the sciences. It is easy to gain access to them, for they are always at my service, and I admit them to my company, and dismiss them from it, whenever I please. They are never troublesome, but immediately answer the question I ask them. Some relate to me the events of past ages, while others reveal to me the secrets of nature. Some teach me how to live, and others how to die. Some by their vivacity drive away my cares and exhilarate my spirits ; while others give fortitude to my mind, and teach me the important lesson how to restrain my desires, and to depend wholly on myself. They open to me, in short, the various avenues of all the arts and sciences, and upon their information I may safely rely in emergencies. In return for all their services they only ask me to accommodate them with a convenient chamber in some corner of my humble habitation, where they may repose in peace ; for these friends are more delighted by the tranquillity of retirement than with the tumult of society”

C. Macnaghten : Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects (1912) page 158 and 159.

ENJOYMENT OF LIFE.

LIFE, for those who choose to enjoy it, is not a dull round of labour and sorrow : for them it is rather “a continual feast ” on the brightness and beauty which everywhere surrounds them. The world is full of delight, if we will but accept and enjoy it ; there is always something to interest us, if we will but see it ; there is always something to engage our admiration, if we will but admire it ; there are friendships and sympathy, kindness and love, if we will but open our hearts and receive them. Of course we all have troubles, but we all have joys as well ; and he makes the best use of life’s opportunities who bears its sorrows bravely, and enjoys its pleasures fully and thankfully.....

It is our duty to make the most of the manifold enjoyments within our reach. And yet perhaps there is no duty which we more frequently miss. Most of us, I fear, make the most of our troubles ; perhaps we even exaggerate them ; but we do not make the most of our joys,—we do not even notice or

recognise many of the pleasures which are ready to our hands. This is surely a great mistake. Of how many happinesses we wilfully deprive ourselves, simply because we omit to take them, in our daily life ! It is not the great joys or great sorrows which make a life happy or miserable ; it is the common everyday trials, which give to our lives their brightness or gloom. And these everyday pleasures are closely connected with the way in which we look at things,—in other words, with our own characters.

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So let us “be merry and wise” according to the proverb : there is no reason why we should not be cheerful when God has placed us in this beautiful world with so many blessings richly to enjoy. Sorrow, of course, will come ; but let us look on the brighter side, and make the best of things, giving gladness to others, which is the great thing, by being glad ourselves. “God has made all men to be happy, says an old philosopher ; “therefore, if any one is unhappy, his unhappiness is his own fault.”

C. Macnaghten : Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects (1912) pages 155-157.

LIFE'S PILGRIMAGE.

THE life of man is a journey, a pilgrimage. Each year, as it closes, is like a milestone which marks our progress along life's road. As each year, each milestone of life, is passed, so much more is behind us, so much less is before. Of course this is not less true of the close of each day than of each year. Of course at the end of each day we may say, and of course we ought to consider and say, So much more of our life has been lived, so much less is before. But there is something especially solemn in the meeting-point of the Past with the Future which we touch at the close of each year; something at that time which more than at other times fills our minds with serious thoughts, which leads us to ask ourselves, gazing on this milestone. What are we doing? Whither are we going? Is our earthly pilgrimage a holy and good one, as it ought to be? Has it been holy and good in the year now passing away?

It is good for us to make these inquiries, for it is by such retrospection of the past that

we shall be able to live better hereafter. If we go on, never halting or thinking, we are likely to go from bad to worse, blindly following those earthly desires which lead us from duty and from God. And so let us halt to-day for a few minutes, and let us,..... meditate.....

C. Macnaghter : Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects (1912) pages 113 and 114.

SHORTNESS OF LIFE.

THE past year has gone like a vision, like a dream ; it hardly seems to us to have existed ; and it is of such fleeting visions, such passing dreams, that life is made up, and the longest life of the oldest of us can only be for a few more such years, and then the journey of life will be over and done for ever.

My friends, life is short, but, short as it is, it is given to us by God for His Service. And the shortest life, if rightly employed, is sufficient for the proper fulfilment of our duty. God places us here to do His will : and our life in time is a training for eternity. Have we in the year which is past borne this fact in mind ? Have we striven to do God's will unselfishly denying ourselves, and living a life of love and benevolence towards our fellowmen ? If so, if we can honestly say so, we have nothing to regret : and the past year, quickly though it has faded, has produced

good fruit" which will live for ever ; it has not been lived in vain.

C. Macnaghten : Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects (1912) pages 114 and 115.

UNCERTAINTY OF LIFE.

SO much more is behind us, so much less is before ; but, while we know how much is behind us, we cannot know how much is before. In this respect the journey of life is different from an earthly pilgrimage. If you go from here to Dwarka.....you know with certainty the exact distance ; and can foretell, if God spares your life, the exact date on which your journey will end. But with the journey of life it is different. We know not the point of its termination..... All we can do is to walk straight on, in the simple path of duty, asking Him to be our guide, asking Him to strengthen our weakness, and to support our stumbling feet. And then, when He sees that our journey is ended, He bids us halt, and our life here is done. We cannot tell when He will give that signal.. ...If He gave the signal to-day, should we be ready ?

This is a very serious question. It is also a very practical one. For each one of us knows very well—though we do not always act according to our knowledge—that at any

time he may be suddenly summoned, that he cannot be certain of his life for one hour. To-day, to-morrow, or next day, no one can tell how soon he may die.

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Death comes sooner or later ; often it comes soon and suddenly ; (it comes alike to the poor and the rich).....Death must come to us, too, sooner or later—we know not when. (We should) be prepared for it and remember that life is short, that we must make the best use of its opportunities and do our duty to men and to God.

To do our duty—we all know what that means. To be kind, unselfish, honest, and pure ; to live in the strength that God gives us, if we remember Him always : this is (the) duty ; and this is true life, true happiness. This is life which never dies, for it has got nothing to do with our body ; this is the life of heaven.

This heavenly life may be lived on earth by those who love God and live near to Him, and in His care His children are safe, come sorrow or joy, come life or death.

C. Macnaghten; Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects (1912,) pages 115—117.

REGULARITY OF HABIT.

BE regular. Live by rule and habit.. I will limit myself to saying that I think you must all have noticed the advantages of a regular life.....You must have seen how much more you (can do) by having a certain fixed time for each thing than you could have done otherwise. You must have noticed how quickly and easily the time so spent slips away : what a contrast there is between these busy hours and the languid life of monotonous idleness which some of you, I fear, sometimes lead.....Notice the force of regularity.. ... Methodical regular life is the very best training which can be given...It brings you into a habit of method and orderly arrangement, which we trust will become a part of yourselves, and last you all your life. It does something more than that. It gives a strength and a pliancy which only use and habit can confer.

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Our moral character, too, will depend upon our habits. And here, too, we need to practise

stern regularity and care ; to drill ourselves more strictly than on parade ; to practise ourselves harder than on the cricket field.

*C. Macnaghten: Common Thoughts on Serious
Subjects : (1912) pages 120 and 121.*

Earnestness.

BE earnest, and work with all your might. Always do your best. Mere regularity is not sufficient ; we must always be active, diligent, earnest, in everything we do. Whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing *well* ; and we can do nothing well, unless we take trouble, unless we work hard.

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So, whatever we do, by hand or by head, let us do with all our might, and then we shall do it well. Let us be active, attentive, laborious, remembering, in all that we do, that we are here as God's servants on earth, here to do His will. And His will is that whatever we do we should do with all our mind and strength ; that, in other words, we should do it for him.

*C. Macnaghten : Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects :
(1912) pages 122 and 123.*

Practical Experience.

THEORETICAL knowledge alone, however, is not sufficient in the Government of human beings. To such knowledge must be constantly added the benefit of actual practical experience. Let me here give an illustration which will impress the material difference between theory and practice. His Highness knows well how to write with his right hand. So far as the theory of writing is concerned, the left hand is quite equal to the right hand. And yet, let His Highness try to write with his left hand, and he will see that he can do it very imperfectly or perhaps not at all. Why? The theory is all right with respect to both hands, but the right hand has had the benefit of practice which the left hand has not had. Mark the immense difference thus observable as arising from want of practice and let it restrain over-confidence resulting from theoretical knowledge alone.

Minor Hints: pages 84 and 85,

Success.

TO do anything well and successfully, the first necessary condition is to get a clear conception of the end to be accomplished.

The next consideration should be the choice of the means.

Having selected the best means consider and forecast all the possible difficulties and accidents which might occur to disturb or defeat the object in view and adopt or be prepared with the necessary measure to prevent or counteract such difficulties and accidents.

Then proceed with the undertaking with due regard to time, place and circumstances.

If such a course is pursued success will be maximised, *i. e.* success will be obtained in the majority of cases.

It is the degree of attention given to the course above indicated which mainly makes the difference between one man and another in regard to their success in their careers. The person who pays full attention to the

course is seldom taken by surprise. He simply goes through a carefully pre-arranged programme. On the other hand, the person who acts otherwise proceeds loosely and is exposed to confusion and discomfiture at the several stages of the given undertaking.

(The reference of this extract has been lost and apology is due which is hereby rendered both to the Reader and the Author of it.)

SOCIAL EFFICIENCY.

1. Public Life.
2. Seeking Advice.
3. Attitude towards Nobles. I
II
III
4. Attitude towards High Officials.
5. Attitude towards servants.
6. Social virtues.
 - (a) Making others happy.
 - (b) Judgment of others.
 - (c) Feelings of others.
7. Accessibility to the public I
II
8. Knowledge of Raj and people.
9. Intriguers.
10. Flatterers.

Public Life.

IT is essential to the welfare of a nation that its aristocracy should not be divorced from its public life. Those countries in which the nobility have detached themselves or have been separated by circumstances from the current of the national existence, where they ceased to be actors and became merely spectators, are either in a state of suspended progress, or are like a man with his right arm bandaged and in a sling. He is badly handicapped when he finds himself in a tight place.

*Lord Curzon : Speech at the Mayo College
at Ajmere.*

Seeking Advice.

IF (Your Highness) desire to invite any person's opinion, (you) had better refrain from expressing (your) own opinion at the outset. (It) had better not be even indicated or implied. Even were the person spoken to ask for (Your) Highness' opinion, better avoid expressing it, if possible.

There are two main reasons for this suggestion : (1) If (Your) Highness' opinion be expressed at the outset, the person might hesitate to express a contrary or different opinion. At least he might feel a certain degree of restraint : (and) the object is to get his opinion as freely expressed as possible. (2) Again, any opinion prematurely formed by (Your Highness) *i. e.* formed before knowing the opinions of (qualified and experienced) persons might be incorrect ; and it is not desirable that (Your) Highness should needlessly run the risk of expressing crude and incorrect opinions which would have to be given up upon deliberation and consultation.

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(Your Highness) should exercise care and judgment in choosing advisers. (They should) possess the following qualifications :—

- (a) Knowledge of the theory or of the principles or of the science of the business to be done.
- (b) Practical experience which shows how that knowledge is to be applied and which supplies details.
- (c) Love of truth, justice and disinterestedness.

It follows that any advice coming from persons without these qualifications would be of little value.

When the competent advisers have been chosen it is to be expected that they will generally all agree with each other and give the same advice but if they differ and give conflicting advice. (Your Highness) may well ask that the advice given (by different persons) may be committed to writing in the shape of a memo, giving the reasons for that advice and bearing date and signature.

(If after considering these, Your Highness is unable to decide which advice is the best for adoption Your Highness should ask the advisers) to discuss their differences freely in your presence. Such a discussion may result in all reconciling their differences and reaching a common conclusion. If, however, a common conclusion is not arrived at, the matter may (if possible) be postponed for future consideration and decision.

If, however, the postponement of the matter be not possible and circumstances require some immediate decision, the safest course for (Your Highness) will probably be to trust to the Chief Minister's advice above that of all others.

Minor Hints: page 58.

Attitude towards Nobles

JUST as the power of the British Crown in India finds its surest support in the allegiance of the feudatory Princes, so the chiefs in their turn should rely mainly upon the devotion of their nobles—the Arakansi-Daulat or Pillars of the State.

*Lord Hardinge: Speech at the Udaipur State
Banquet.*

II.

I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my strong approval on Your Highness' sense and sagacity in the friendly attitude you have adopted towards your Rajput nobility. Unity is strength and Your Highness' position will be made more secure and also more pleasant if you continue to rally round you those noble families who are your natural attendants and companions at all times. Let me in this connection venture to offer Your Highness a word of advice. Build up within your own State a body of your own subjects on whom you can rely to serve. Take them young, educate them, select the best, fit them for high places and when they are fit, confer high places upon them. Give them responsibility, enlist their interest and sympathy in the work of administration and I confidently predict that you will not regret the step you have taken.

Lord Hardinge: Speech at the Indore State Banquet.

III

They (Thakurs) are—many of them—your kinsmen, and they are the descendants of those warriors who, in the old days, helped Your Highness' ancestors, at the risk of life and property to establish and maintain their rule over the State. They form an integral part of the fabric of your State. They owe you allegiance and obedience for the lands they hold of you and it is to Your Highness' true interest to maintain their dignity and to give them every opportunity of culture and improvement...for I am confident that in their enlightenment and strength Your Highness must find the finest support to your position.

LORD HARDINGE : *Speech at the Jaipur State
Banquet.*

Attitude towards high Officials.

ASSUMING that high officers have been carefully selected for their capacity and probity, (Your Highness) should treat them with confidence. It would be unjust and impolitic to suspect them of a disposition to misrepresent matters, or to misguide in disposing of the same.

(Their) self-respect should be preserved and strengthened by treating them with courtesy and consideration.

They should be permitted to freely discuss matters and especially to express differences of opinion.

Men, perfect in every human quality, are not to be found in this world. Some imperfections may always be found in even the most gifted. (Your) Highness should make generous allowance for this manifest truth, and the small failings are to be overlooked.

(But) if there is occasion for (Your) Highness to say anything unpleasant to a high officer better say to him privately than while others are present.

Minor Hints: page 71.

Attitude Towards Servants.

(YOUR Highness) should avoid familiarity with menial servants. These must be kept at a reasonable distance, and must be limited to their respective duties.

(They) must be placed under the control and supervision of some responsible official who should see that they behave properly and such official should have some power over (them), so as to be able to influence them by means of hope and fear.

(They) should be prevented from overhearing conversations and reporting them abroad. Unless vigilantly looked after, they are generally too apt to sell news.

They must on no account, be permitted to speak to (Your Highness) about matters which are far above them. For instance, they must not indulge in Political discussions, or speak of the merits of Ministers.

They must not be allowed to introduce strangers to Your Highness, or to present

petitions on behalf of any stranger, or indeed on behalf of any one.

They must be enjoined to be polite to visitors and others.

Minor Hints: Pages 8 and 9.

Social Virtues.

(A) MAKING OTHERS HAPPY.

IT is part of our duty to ourselves as well as our neighbour to make life and nature as happy as we can. I am sure, too, we must agree...that many of our worries are purely imaginary ; they only exist in our morbid fancies. And whether they really exist or not, still behind the darkest cloud shines the sun of God's light, and God's love ; if we can keep that thought in our mind our lives will be better as well as brighter.

(What enjoyment there is, too, apart from the duty, in giving enjoyment to others, in making others happy!) Time so enjoyed can never be wasted; but, rather, it is doubly fruitful,—fruitful to the giver and to the receiver. And what special opportunity for enjoyment of this kind, not double but a thousand-fold, lies in the future of some of you. Those whom God has placed over their fellows have in this world opportunities of happiness such as only a few can possess. See that you miss not this high privilege. Especially be careful

not to waste your time. For your time is more precious than that of most men, as it is richer in opportunity. Never mind how hard you work so long as it is for your people's good; such labour is its own delight, and your highest satisfaction. Believe me, my friends, there is no happiness so great as that of making others happy. No one, I think can enjoy life more than he who has a generous heart and large means of gratifying its humane impulses.

*C. Macnaghten: Common Thoughts on Serious
Subjects: (1912) pages 157 and 158.*

(B) Judgment of Others.

THE Maharaja's position is a very exalted one. (Your Highness) will have to deal with many persons (and you) will have repeatedly to judge of persons and of their acts. (Your Highness) will therefore do well to cultivate the habit of judging charitably.

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When an act or motive is liable to several interpretations (Your Highness) should prefer that interpretation which is most favourable to the person affected.

If circumstances suggest that an unfavourable interpretation is the more probable one (Your Highness) should call for explanation from the person affected, and then judge,

Minor Hints: pages 33—39.

(C) *Feelings of Others*

EVERY Ruler, every person who has to deal much with men, should always be careful to respect the feelings of others. Nothing needlessly harsh or offensive or unpleasant should be said or done in matters, whether great or small. This is a most useful and honourable habit which is well worth the trouble it requires to acquire it. Observation and study are required for its acquisition.

One easy way of prejudging what might be harsh or offensive or unpleasant, is to imagine how we should feel if others said or did that to ourselves.

Another help towards acquiring the habit in question is to watch the thoughts, words and deeds of men who are distinguished for having successfully acquired that habit.

Minor Hints : page 79.

Accessibility to the Public.

IF we but were to look into the life history of some of our old Rajas and compare it with those of their descendants, we cannot but admire the strong personality of the former. They, it may be admitted frankly, were lacking in the present day manners and customs; but all the same they were quite cordial in their relations with the people who came in contact with them : they were very accessible to their people. Their personality was great and striking.

Wake Up Prince : page 33.

II.

THOSE in attendance on great personages are inveterately given to shut out from them visitors or communications they may themselves not regard with favour, and they succeed in enforcing their wishes because they themselves are the only media of intercourse and there is no means of penetrating the wall round their charges. The result is that men in power and position often find themselves cut off from the outside public and live in a world of their own without even suspecting it, while the public believes them to be wilful in their isolation. They must, therefore, take vigilant care that their accessibility to the general public is regulated according to their own views and wishes and satisfy themselves that their attendants do not intermeddle with it. Rulers of States and their chief Ministers and advisers stand in need of such a precaution, because, to ensure an efficient discharge of their high functions. they of all others stand most in need to know what is thought and said of their work in spheres other than their own : but they will have no means of gaining such

knowledge or a deep insight into human character if they do not allow free and unrestricted approach to them.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse : pages 5 and 6.*

Knowledge of Raj and People.

THERE is yet one more of these duties and functions which is as essential as the rest that have been already described, but it is by no means as onerous as most of them, *viz.*, the duty, in one word, of keeping complete touch with the country. You must be “a man of your time accessible to ideas, well aware of what goes on in spheres very unlike his own.” To sustain this position you must on occasions travel out of your State privately...in which case you will be not only spared the time and trouble spent in formalities but also be able intimately to know the land through which you pass and the real sentiments of its people. It is, however, with reference to your own State, that this duty has an especial claim on your attention. A personal acquaintance with the different portions of his dominions and a correct insight into the character, condition, and the wants and wishes of the people are essential in a ruler for success in his work. Not to speak of any higher object it will enable him quickly to comprehend and correctly to

appreciate whatever official papers and information will come before him for disposal in the course of business. So, to acquire such acquaintance and insight into your own State, you must make periodic tours through your territories. These tours, entered upon with no larger retinue than is absolutely necessary so as to involve no heavy expense and also to make the smallest possible demand on local resources, may be undertaken at convenient times and seasons, but they must be so regulated that no part of the State, however humble or remote from your headquarters, may remain unvisited for any very long interval, while special occasions might require special visits to particular localities.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse—Page 116.*

Intriguers.

ALL palaces are, more or less infested with intriguers. (Your Highness) has to exercise constant vigilance against falling into their snares. As soon as (you are) installed in power and even before, these intriguers will try their tricks.

Intriguers are generally persons who are very selfish in their motives and who are devoid of or deficient in good principles. They are excessively fond of secret representations. They make false or reckless statements. They grossly exaggerate matters. They give a false colouring to circumstances. They endeavour to make themselves agreeable by constant flattery and obsequiousness.

By bearing these distinguishing qualities in mind and by means of close observation intriguers may be found out.

When (they are discovered), Your Highness should refuse to give ear to them (and) they should be kept at great distance. In short the

less (Your Highness will have) to do with them the better will it be for (Your) Highness' interests.

Minor Hints: pages 11-12.

Flatterers

I must not omit an important subject and a mistake which Princes can with difficulty avoid, if they are not very prudent, or if they do not make a good choice. And this is with regards to flatterers, of which courts are full, because men take such pleasure in their own things and deceive themselves about them that they can with difficulty guard against this plague ; and by wishing to guard against it they run the risk of becoming contemptible. Because there is no other way of guarding one's self against flattery than by letting men understand that they will not offend you by speaking the truth ; but when every one can tell the truth you lose their respect. A prudent Prince must therefore take a third course, by choosing in his State wise men, and giving these alone full liberty to speak the truth to him, but only of those things that he asks and of nothing else ; but he must ask them about everything and hear their opinion, and afterwards, deliberate by himself in his own way, and with each of these men comport himself so that every one may see that the more

freely he speaks, the more he will be acceptable. Outside these he should listen to no one, go about the matter deliberately, and be determined in his decisions. Whoever acts otherwise either acts precipitately through flattery or else changes often through the variety of opinions, from which it happens that he is little esteemed.

Machiavelli: The Prince: Pages 94-95.

PHYSICAL EFFICIENCY.

1. Health.
2. Purity.
3. Temperance.
4. Exercise.

Health.

AND truly, my friends, this matter of health is a matter of vital importance indeed. For nothing impedes our mortal endeavours so much as unsoundness and weakness of body, and not only the vigour of our intellects but many moral qualities also—such, for instance, as courage, calmness, evenness and sweetness of temper—depend very much on that bodily health which is one of God's best gifts to men. And yet, I think there are very few of us—and especially of those among us who are young—who esteem this great blessing at its real value, who realise what a vast deal depends on this priceless boon of health and strength.

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Good health is a duty as well as a pleasure. It is a duty because it depends very much on our own will and choice ; and yet it is pleasure which very often we blindly and willingly cast away. How very often we make ourselves ill by our own carelessness and imprudence.

How foolishly we pamper our appetites, greedily eating what we know to be injurious, simply because it is pleasant to the taste.

So, too, in all desires of the body which we gratify, though we know them to be wrong. By gratifying them we make ourselves ill, and diminish our whole stock of energy and power ; and, by wasting in this way our natural health, we waste and shorten our lives. This is a thought which deserves great attention, if we will but attend to it : it is a very grave matter indeed. And considering what a poor thing in comparison, is the temporary enjoyment which we derive from the gratification of our appetites, is it not wonderful that we so often sacrifice the priceless blessings of health in exchange for it ?

C. Macnaghten : Common thoughts on Serious Subjects, (1912) pages 146—149.

Purity

PURITY is closely allied to temperance ; it can hardly exist without it. Purity of body as well as of mind—frequent bathing and cleanliness—this is a necessary accompaniment of health. There is nothing more holy and healthy, in all this world, than purity. On the other hand, nothing does more to injury the body and soul than impurity. Do remember this, my friends.

C. Macnaghten : Common thoughts on Serious Subjects
(1912) page 150.

Temperance

YOU know very well the folly of intemperance—the pain and misery which ensue from excessive gratification of the bodily appetites. You know the effects of excessive indulgence in intoxicating drugs and alcoholic liquors, forbidden alike by all religions and by common sense, which not only tends to shorten man's life, but makes it, while it lasts, vile and contemptible.

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But there is a temperance in eating as well as in drinking ; and this too must be observed, if we wish to have good health. Benjamin Franklin,...says, on this head, “ Eat not to dulness,” as well as “ Drink not to elevation.” Good health is best nourished on plain, simple food : it is nourished also on moderation.

*C. Macnaghten : Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects
(1912) page 149.*

Exercise.

PHYSICAL exercise is another matter conducive to the maintenance of good health. I think it is especially conducive in India. For there is something in the Indian climate which certainly tends to make people torpid.

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But I think this tendency is more to be noticed among those who live sedentary lives than those whose occupation compels them to labour and physical exertion. The labouring classes are, for the most part, physically active and healthy and strong. I think we may, therefore, be assured that the heat of India is not unhealthy if, by active habits and exercise, we be careful to resist the inclination to lassitude.

*C. Macnaghten : Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects
(1912) pages 153-154.*

PART II.

ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY.

“ Adopt measures necessary to administer your State wisely and beneficently in accordance with the local requirements and increase the moral and material welfare of the millions who are committed to your care.”



ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY.

May be divided into consideration of the following:

1. The Central Government.
2. Some Important Offices.
3. Some Important Reforms.
4. Some measures for the promotion of the happiness of the people.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

1. Machinery of Government.
2. His Highness the Maharaja I
II
III
3. Cabinet Council.
4. Privy Council.
5. Consultative Assembly.
6. Chief Minister I
II
7. Other Ministers.
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
8. Accountant.

Machinery of Government.

A Central authority will always be necessary in order to keep the local executive every where in action to aid it when higher skill or information is needed, and to carry out numerous functions of central superintendence.

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The Maharaja will have to be the sole source of the motive power which is to keep up the machinery of the administration going on steadily : for this purpose he must have special officers charged with the responsibility of taking care that no function gets into abeyance and no department goes to sleep over any portion of its duty ; and in the discharge of the higher task of supervision he must to the utmost of his power and judgment gather about himself “ men whose conduct is invariably regulated by private honour and public interest and in whom the enthusiasm in the pursuit of national objects which seizes

other men by fits and starts is constant and uniform." It should ever be borne in mind that the selection of proper agents is one great secret of successful administration.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse, Pages 85-96.*

His Highness the Maharaja.

MAHARAJA, you ought to be able to raise yourself above the details of the administration, and at the same time to improve its tone and strengthen your own control over it by adding to the thoroughness and the beneficial character of your supervision. Freedom from the worry of administrative details is, indeed, a privilege of the highest ruler as a comprehensive supervision and an inspiring direction of the machinery of government is his duty; but while many a Raja freely avails himself of this *privilege* of his position, very few are alive to their *responsibility*. One cause of the prevalence of this unfortunate condition of things undoubtedly is the absence of all constitutional arrangements and reliable helps, so that a Raja who may really wish not to shirk his duty is obliged to work very hard, to attend to every measure at every stage, see everything with his own eyes, and thus sacrifice his health and comfort, whereas under even a tolerable system, the task of

administration would wear a much less repulsive or harassing aspect and bring the higher powers and the nobler side of the ambition of the ruler into honourable and beneficent play.

Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political Recluse,
page 92.

ALL work of first instance, such is human weakness, is almost always liable to mistakes and errors, even when performed by men free from carelessness or corrupt motives; and these mistakes and errors are more discernible to an onlooker. Hence arises the necessity and also the value of the provision for appeals. Now, the king being the highest court of appeal in the State, it is his privilege and his prerogative to detect and remove all errors and faults in its Government, and thus advance the cause of right and justice and keep up the purity of the administration. To ensure that result, therefore, you must on all occasions and in all cases, which call for the exercise of that exalted prerogative, provide yourself with the most efficient helps available and be surrounded by the best influences, and carefully guard against any sinister or misleading factors entering into your deliberation, or contributing to its results at any time.

Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political

Recluse, Pages 92-93.

III.

A Maharaja ought not to overburden himself with work. He ought not to undertake so much work that his health would suffer thereby, that his recreations would be cut off or reduced, and that the work itself could not be done with that knowledge and deliberation which are necessary for its proper performance.

It is to be remembered that the Maharaja has to work all his life, it is not as if he should work very hard for a few years and then retire from business. This circumstance, all the more, imposes moderation of work.

Roughly speaking, the Maharaja should have work for not more than four or five hours per diem. This will leave time for health, for recreation, for study, for family and social duties and pleasures. Whenever there is special extra business, His Highness may especially devote extra time to the same.

A great number of details His Highness may well devolve on his Ministers. In respect to these, instead of His Highness passing orders in each individual case, His Highness

may well give some general orders which will apply to whole groups of cases. This course would save time and labour. The principle should be that His Highness should not burden himself with such work as he can get others to do equally well.

Minor Hints : Pages 59-60.

CABINET COUNCIL.

ANY the most elementary scheme of administration of a State must have a central authority to direct and regulate its course, remove its difficulties, remedy its defects and settle over-recurring questions, whether of a general or individual character, and thus ensure the successful working of the entire machinery...Now, this central authority must take the form of a body which might be well called the *Cabinet Council*, composed of the Heads of all departments with the Raja as its president and the Dewan or the Premier, and head of the executive as Vice-President. In all executive matters a final appeal must lie to the Raja and all measures of general applicability passed by the Council must be submitted for his confirmation before they are permitted to take effect.

To this Council solely, must appertain the function of making laws and regulations; but...over-legislation must be carefully avoided and no law or enactment made unless its

necessity is clearly perceived. Further, in any case of a proposed law, objections and suggestions which may be urged by people through their representatives in the public assembly (to be presently mentioned) must be duly heard and taken into consideration. The same course must be followed with regard to the levy of any new tax or taxes, and every tax, law, or measure passed by the Council must, as already intimated, receive your confirmation and assent before it comes into operation. This giving of formal assent is a prerogative of the ruling authority, without whose sanction no law should be brought into force, but the form, too, is not without its use and significance even where the executive authority itself proposed the measure or is otherwise concerned in passing it. It indicates that the sovereign is the source of all legislation, and thus serves as a recognition of that principle ; and moreover it is useful as a reminder to the sovereign that he is responsible for all laws. Again, every measure should be carefully considered from all points of view and made as unexceptionable as it can be before it comes into force ; but it is not always possible to anticipate every

objection, and occasionally some serious defect or flaw may be discovered immediately after it has passed through the final stage. In such cases the assent is withheld and the law returned for amendment, and thus what is usually a mere formality serves to obviate a practical difficulty.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse. Pages 88-89.*

PRIVY COUNCIL.

THE highest form of the central authority must be a *Privy Council* to review and supervise the work of the administration from the standpoint of the highest knowledge, wisdom, statesmanship and breadth and liberality of view, which the resources of the State can command. The Privy Council ought, therefore, to be composed of the wisest and best men available in the State.

The Council which would include the Cabinet members will attend in response to a summons whenever some question of exceptional importance has to be considered and its advice thereon is desired: but ordinarily only the official portion of it will work and for that purpose it must be divided into as many committees as the nature of the work of final appeal and supervision it will have to do will require. It will, however, suffice for all practical purposes to have a judicial and general committee, the former of which will decide questions of law and justice, and the latter attend to a review and supervision of all the rest of the field of administration and

the issue of orders and instructions for the correction of abuses or the introduction of reform wherever they may be called for.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse. Pages 91-92.*

CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

IT would be very desirable to supplement (the official constitution) by an outside or popular element which, under existing circumstances with any advantage to anybody and, indeed, with safety to the working of the public administration, can take the form only of a *Consultative Assembly* composed of the leading representatives of all the different interests and classes throughout each district or division of the State, moderate in numbers and meeting once a year at the capital on a fixed suitable day. Its functions should be to submit to the Government of the State any well-grounded representations it may wish to make on behalf of the people in regard to—

- (1) Any law which it may be proposed to enact ;
- (2) Any new tax which it may be proposed to be levied ;
- (3) Any items of revenue or expenditure of the State as entered in the estimates of the next year ;

- (4) Any inconvenience which may have been occasioned, or believed to be caused, to the people by the working of any law or department of the State during the preceding year ;
- (5) Any general grievance or evil they may have suffered from or been subjected to during that period, or may apprehend in the next twelve months ; and
- (6) Any other suggestion which they may wish to make in regard to the public good.

And the Government, which must give to the deputies of the people sufficient time to frame their representations, must accord to them their attentive consideration and either accept, modify or reject the said representations and suggestions in whole or in part and assign reasons for their orders which, however, may be considered as final.

Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political Recluse, pages 96 and 97.

THE CHIEF MINISTER.

THE Maharaja, as the Ruler, represents the power of the State and the (Durbar Office) is the machinery kept in motion by that power.

The (Chief Minister) being at the head of the (Durbar Office) should deserve and possess the confidence of the Maharaja. He should also deserve and possess the respect of the British Government.

He should be a person who has had experience in the work of administration. Better if this experience has, partly at least, been in administering a Native State. Still better, if the experience has been gained in the service of the State itself.

He should be a warm friend and well-wisher of the State. As such he should always be ready to do his best to protect and preserve the State and all its legitimate rights and privileges.

He should be firm yet conciliatory, just yet mild and merciful, energetic yet patient

and considerate, zealous yet discreet and circumspect, sensitive to honour yet by no means quarrelsome, agreeable to the Maharaja yet free and frank in giving sound advice. He should be a friend of progressive improvement in all branches of the Administration, yet he should possess discrimination enough to conserve what is old, natural and useful.

Having most carefully selected the right person as (Chief Minister), the Maharaja should give him his cordial support and encouragement.

Minor Hints: pages 222 and 224

II.

IN order that it should be possible to carry out this ideal, it is essential that the Chief Minister should be his real representative capable of taking all responsibility of executive administration and to act on his own initiative. He should be in a position to remove friction in the working of the different departments and co-ordinate their work. He should be in a position to think on problems of progress and he should also be able to watch the trend of events & receive guidance from the Ruler.

Wake up Princes. Page 76.

OTHER MINISTERS.

THE heads of departments (therefore) need to be very carefully selected. They should be quite qualified to perform well the important duties entrusted to them, and they should afford a fair promise of being trained, so as to undertake the duties of Chief Minister, if at any time required. It follows that the heads of Departments should be selected for qualifications similar to those which the Dewan himself should possess.

These Departmental heads are, in fact, the several Departmental Ministers of the Maharaja, (and the Chief Minister is above them). All of these together may form the Cabinet of the Maharaja. The ordinary business of each Department may be conducted by its heads under the orders or supervision of the Chief Minister. But, if any business of considerable importance or difficulty is to be done, all or most of the Ministers should meet, discuss, and decide.

Minor Hints : Pages 224-227.

II.

ALL Departments require for their heads first rate Officers, who will not only do their respective duties in a scientific, systematic, and satisfactory manner, but will, in conjunction with the Chief Minister form the Cabinet of the Maharaja that is to say that body of His Highness' Ministers who will under His Highness be collectively responsible for the good Government of the country.

The primary responsibility for the good Government of the country rests, of course, with the Maharaja himself. It is a weighty responsibility. It is a responsibility increasing with the general progress of India. It is a responsibility which must cause serious anxiety to the best of rulers.

The only way in which His. Highness can fulfil that heavy responsibility, is to have the best Ministers for the conduct of the Administration. These Ministers should possess abundant intelligence, knowledge, experience and high character to command respect and to withstand hostile criticism

from whatever quarter the same may come. The very best Maharaja, with incompetent Ministers, is pretty sure to be a failure.

• *Minor Hints: Pages 241-242.*

III.

THE choice of a Prince's ministers is a matter of no little importance ; they are either good or not according to the prudence of the prince. The first impression that one gets of a ruler and of his brains is from seeing the men that he has about him. When they are competent and faithful one can always consider him wise, as he has been able to recognise their ability and keep them faithful. But when they are the reverse, one can always form an unfavourable opinion of him, because the first mistake that he makes is in making this choice.

For a prince to be able to know a minister there is this method which never fails. When you see the minister think more of himself than of you, and in all his actions seek his own profit, such a man will never be a good minister, and you can never rely on him ; for whoever has in hand the state of another must never think of himself but of the prince, and not call to mind any thing but what relates to him. And, on the other hand, the prince, in order to retain his fidelity ought to think of his minister,

honouring and enriching him, doing him kindnesses, and conferring on him honour and giving him responsible tasks, so that the great honours and riches bestowed on him cause not to desire other honours and riches, and the tasks he has to fulfil make him careful of changes, knowing that he could not execute them without the prince. When princes and their ministers stand in this relation to each other ; they can rely the one upon the other; when it is otherwise, the end is always injurious either for one or the other of them.

The Prince: Pages 92-93.

IV.

IT is desirable to so arrange the administration that each minister should discuss with his colleagues every matter of great public importance or difficulty which he has to deal with, and come to common agreement about the course to be pursued. In this way, every matter of importance will have the benefit of discussion, and all the ministers will be responsible for the action of each. No minister will have it in his power to say that another minister has done wrong. Indeed, the chances of wrong action will be reduced to a minimum, and this is exactly what good administration requires.

Another advantage of great value accruing from the principle just stated is this : As each minister discusses important Departmental matters with the other Ministers, every Minister becomes acquainted, not simply with the business of his own Departments, but with the important business of all Departments. Such being the case, should any Minister happen to go away, there would be no gap of knowledge in the Ministry on that account. The successor of the last Minister will soon be

trained to his work by the other Ministers. Thus the continuity of useful practical knowledge will be provided for.

Minor Hints: Pages 234-235.

V.

THE head of the Revenue Department should be especially conversant with the principles and details of his work. He must know all about the Ryotwari system of land revenue. He must know all about Opium, Abkari, Customs, and other sources of revenue. In respects of all these matters, he must know, (1) the past history of each, (2) its present condition, (3) its condition in British India, and (4) its theory or science as enumerated by the best authorities. He must be versed in Finance generally. He must be familiar with Political Economy. It is only then that he will be able to do justice to the important Department of Revenue, on which the happiness of the people largely depends.

Minor Hints: Page 236.

VI.

THE head of the Judicial, Police and Extradition Department must be a clear headed lawyer. He must be familiar with the leading principles of jurisprudence as well as the practical details of the judicial administration. To fulfil this qualification, he must, of course, be an English scholar. He must be conversant with those principles of International Law which have bearing on our relations with our neighbours. It has to be remembered that it is this officer who has mainly to advise the (Chief Minister) in all judicial matters generally, in disposing of appeals from the courts, in settling legal doubts or difficulties coming from all Departments, in making laws and rules, and in conducting that portion of the correspondence with the Residency which relates to the Extradition of criminals and to other matters involving judicial principles.

Minor Hints : Pages 237-238

ACCOUNTANT.

ACCOUNTS and Audits are absolutely necessary for the proper conduct of the Administration. They are necessary even in a private family, and they are much more necessary in a State. They should be entrusted to a distinct and specially qualified head. He must be versed in the old system of Accounts and Audits and also in the more improved modern system. He will largely assist the Administration in keeping the finances in order.

Minor Hints : Page 242.

SOME IMPORTANT OFFICES

1. Durbar Office.
2. English Office.
3. Public Works Department.
4. Palace.
5. Toshakhana.

THE DURBAR OFFICE.

The Durbar Office is a large establishment. In it therefore, and indeed in the public service generally, organization and discipline are extremely necessary for successful administration.

In Native States, however, there is too great and constant a tendency to relax, and the Maharaja has therefore to be all the more careful.

Organization, roughly speaking, means the proper division of work ; and making certain officials do the work assigned and holding them responsible for the proper performance of the aforesaid work, and the placing under their orders of the necessary hands for doing that work. The work is thus divided from the bottom to the top. Every portion of the work is entrusted to some responsible official, and every official from the lowest (clerk) to the Minister is placed immediately under the order of some superior officer. Such organization, then, embraces the whole establishment and makes (it) one

organised whole or one machine, each part of which works in subordination to some other part.

Discipline, roughly speaking, means the enforcing of such subordination in all its gradations. It is thus, and thus alone, that large bodies of men can be made to direct all their consistent energies to the accomplishment of great and complex ends. Without organization and discipline there is sure to be confusion.

Minor Hints: Pages 228-229.

The English Office.

THE (English Office) is one of the most important Departments. The credit of the whole Administration largely depends upon the efficiency of this Department. It is to be remembered that the Chief Minister has to carry on extensive correspondence in English, and the correspondence with the Residency includes matters of great moment, difficulty, delicacy, or confidence. It is to be further remembered that the Annual Administration Report is prepared and compiled in the English Office. It is, therefore, essential that at the head of this office there should always be a thoroughly qualified Secretary or Manager. He should be quite trustworthy, intelligent, well versed in English, able to write with ease and facility, active, energetic and industrious, possessing a good memory, and of a conciliatory disposition in order that he may communicate with the heads of the various other Departments without friction.

Minor Hints: Pages 243-244.

Public Works Department.

NO big State can get on without the Public Works Department, because there are always valuable public works to be maintained in repair and (also) because there are (often new works to be constructed).

Where a large, costly and conspicuous building has to be erected, especially at the Capital, employ the best architect available to make proper designs and plans for the same. This is of the highest importance. Without such precaution, lakhs of rupees would be wasted—perhaps worse than wasted—because crude and clumsy edifices would be raised as monuments of the sad want of judgment of those who raised them.

Do not blindly adopt European styles for such buildings. European styles are best for Europe. We, in India, should follow the best styles which are suited to India, and which have been for ages adopted in India.

As a rule, no public work should be begun without a plan and estimate previously

prepared and submitted and sanctioned by the Sirkar.

Whatever public work is undertaken, let it be done in the best manner. The work should be sound and durable and should reflect credit on the period in the eyes of future generations. No trouble and expense should be spared to secure this great object.

As far as may be possible, make our public works conducive to the livelihood of our labourers and artisans. Employ them in preference to outsiders. Employ local material in preference to foreign material.

Do not grudge the cost of necessary repairs to buildings, roads, bridges, etc., etc. If the Maharaja does not add to the public works, he should at least properly preserve what he has inherited from the past. Public works out of order, owing to want of repairs from time to time, always reflect disgrace on the Sirkar.

In repairing large and costly buildings, which have been built upon proper designs or after appropriate styles, or in making any additions or alterations to such buildings, be careful not to act arbitrarily, (and) not to violate the original design or style.

Earnestly promote all reproductive public works. The more this is done, the better will it be for the country. The (Maharaja) cannot conquer new territories, but it is in his power to increase the value of the territories already in his possession—by means of reproductive public works.

The main thing in these territories is to arrange for the multiplication of irrigating sources and of useful roads.

Fair weather roads should be made in abundance at a moderate cost per mile, so that ordinary country carts may move about easily in fair weather.

Metalled roads are very costly (and) should be made only where high cost would be justifiable.

The best road is the railroad. In the long run it is really much cheaper than a metalled road, while it is infinitely more convenient. The advantages of a railroad, over a metalled road may be briefly stated as follows :—

- (i) The cost of construction and repair is lower.
- (ii) The charges for moving goods and passengers are clear.

- (iii) The journey is performed much more comfortably and much more safely.
- (iv) The journey may be performed in all seasons.
- (v) The rail-road pays return on the capital spent on the same, whereas a metalled road does not.

Therefore, the State ought to (construct) railway (road) in its own territories wherever there is need for the same.

Minor Hints: pages 194-195.

The Palace.

PALACE expenditure should bear a reasonable proportion to the income of the State.

What the reasonable proportion is cannot be so precisely determined as to command the assent of everybody, still it cannot be left altogether an indeterminate quantity. My own common sense, assisted by my experience, leads me to think that in the existing circumstances the annual Palace expenditure should not ordinarily exceed 10 (ten) per cent, of the income of the State, that is to say, one tenth of the income.

It is exceedingly desirable for the Maharaja to fix for himself the reasonable proportion and to command the Palace authorities concerned to keep the expenditure within that proportion. Those authorities must be made with a strong will to obey the Maharaja's commands in this important respect. If (Your) Highness is really earnest in the matter, (you) will find no difficulty in adhering to the limit.

Each Sub-Department of the Palace should have a Budget or scale of expenditure prescribed and the Maharaja should insist on this being (followed). The budget is to leave as few items as possible undefined ; for leave any item undefined, and it will be found that that item has a great tendency to grow from year to year.

But there must be some few items which, from their nature, cannot admit of being defined. Such item should be kept under control by the Maharaja, by preserving to himself the power of giving special sanction from time to time.

There should be a distinct Treasury for the Palace. It should draw the appointed funds from time to time from the Public Central Treasury. There should be no confusion of these two Treasuries.

Every item of Palace income and of Palace expenditure should be credited and debited respectively to the Palace Treasury, so that the accounts of this Treasury may afford a complete view of the Palace receipts and expenditure.

A thoroughly competent and reliable Accountant should be made responsible to keep the Palace accounts regularly and systematically. All tendency to laxity and delay should be firmly checked. Every expenditure should be immediately brought to account.

The regular audit of the Palace accounts by the Auditor must be well maintained ; otherwise, there would be little or no practical check, and all would slide into confusion.

No private expenditure of the Maharaja, that is to say, no expenditure which properly belongs to the Palace, should be ordered from or transferred to the Public Treasury.

As a general rule, the expenditure in any particular item should not be increased unless there are funds available from savings elsewhere. Let increase here be balanced by decrease there. This simple principle being steadily kept in view and acted on, the aggregate Palace expenditure will be generally maintained at its usual level.

A monthly examination of the balance in the Palace Treasury is most necessary. Two or three of the principal officials of the Palace

should make such examination personally and certify to His Highness in a memo. under their signature and tallied with the accounts. These memoranda should be regularly entered in a book, and the book itself should be preserved as a record.

There is much needless, useless, or wasteful expenditure in the Palace, which the Maharaja may well reduce. It contributes neither to his Highness' comfort and happiness nor to His Highness' dignity and State. The funds thus disengaged would more than suffice for making needed improvements and for supplying existing deficiencies.

Minor Hints: pages 205-211.

Toshakhana.

THERE is a very large and costly stock of jewelry in the Palace, which will require attention of the Mahajara—there is much of gold and silver things also to be looked after.

Lists of foregoing (should be) made and copies (made) available in the Palace and Daftars. It is very desirable that the Maharaja should go over the whole stock and become personally acquainted with what there is. (Your) Highness' personal inspection will have its moral effect (also).

The whole stock being once clearly gone over by the Maharaja himself personally, arrangements should be made for regular periodical examination of the stock by a trustworthy Committee who should certify to His Highness in writing that it is all right. The Committee should see also to the identity of the precious stones, pearls, etc., which are liable to be changed.

The whole should be in custody of trustworthy and responsible persons. One

official would hardly suffice, for he might fall sick, or have to go on leave, or even die. I would suggest a sort of Committee composed of persons who have sufficient allowances, property, etc., etc. In short, there should be sufficient security against loss.

The jewelry should be placed in a strong iron-room which (should) contain separate boxes, but which is under one lock. This is a safe and convenient arrangement in many respects, and ought, I think, to be 'adhered to).

This being an inherited stock of very valuable property, the Maharaja may well be proud of maintaining it. Therefore, needless or large or excessive presents from the same should be avoided. When, however, some presents become necessary, the minor items may be used.

It suggests itself as a good plan to divide the things into those which are for the personal use of the Maharaja, those for Maharanees, and so on. The rest will go under the head of "Miscellaneous," and may be available for presents, when they become necessary.

It is of the utmost importance that the accounts of the jewel *khana* should be kept with the greatest regularity, punctuality, and strictness. The Chief Palace authorities should be held fully responsible for this. I mean accounts of stocks, of presents, of loans for use, of changes made by breaking up one ornament and making another, and so forth. The accounts should be written in regular bound books, not in loose pages. The accounts should bear the signatures of the writing (clerk) and of the immediately responsible officials, and should be countersigned or initialled by one of the Chief Officers of the Palace.

Minor Hints: pages 213-25.

SOME IMPORTANT REFORMS.

1. Separation of private from public Treasury.
2. Separation of Judicial from Executive functions.
3. Delegation of powers.
4. Qualified Agency for public service.
5. District Administration.
6. Local Self-Government.
7. Finance.
8. Audit Department.
9. Annual report.

Reforms.

REAL improvement means only pruning what is old and what is not suited for the present, and engrafting on it new ideals.

Wake Up Princes; page 70.

The Separation of the Khangī or Private from the State Treasury.

A Khangī treasury exists in most, if not all, States, but in many it exists only in name, and in none is it really separated or divided from the public or State treasury. To effect such separation, the demands of the ruler's family for all their ordinary private expenses, and of the ruler himself for his own personal and public charges on the yearly revenue, must be fixed. The rest of the fiscus must be regarded as the assets of the general administration. The amount of the former charges may assume the form of a *proportion* of the entire revenue or a lump sum fixed on a liberal estimate of the various items it has to cover. The former mode would be preferable to the latter and would, as it should, make the Raja a sharer in the fortunes of the Raj and its people.

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Extraordinary emergencies and rare occasions, too, must be provided for in the

constitution, on a scale suited to the means and dignity of the State and the nature of the occasions. But it is not needful here to go into any of these details ; all I wish to insist on is a recognition and adoption of the principle of separation between the two departments of the Treasury, and limit to the demand on the State revenues for the private or personal needs and purposes of the ruler and his family. The Raja and his house have, indeed, a clear claim on the income of the Raj, because the former is necessary for the existence of the latter, even to a greater degree than the latter is for that of the former, but that claim ought not to be excessive or forgetful of justice to the tax-payer, or else the very *raison d'être* of the thing ceases to have force ; and the king is thus both the master and the servant of the people. The two claims, therefore, must balance each other in fairness ; for the true interests of the people and of the rulers are indetical, and a sense of justice and regard to mutual wants and circumstances must underlie their relations.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse : pages 60-61.*

The Separation of the Judicial from the Executive Offices.

A combination of these functions in the same hands is naturally dangerous to the purity of justice and to the liberty of the subject and must often interfere with timely despatch of work in some direction or other. The power to prosecute, decide, and execute, when centered in one and the same individual officer, virtually results in making a local despot of him by reducing the checks on or increasing the temptation to his abuse of authority. Individual powers and energy too are limited, and where a multiplicity of functions is combined in one person he has to use deputies, and thus, though the power rests in that one person nominally, a division of labour is inevitable except in very small areas of local administration. To avoid these evils it is a wiser course to separate the offices than to divide the works in amount and retain in the same hands, while enough for an officer might be provided by an extension of his

jurisdiction in regard to his own special duties. Again, a man who has only one set of duties to perform gets a facility for their performance, and does them better and quicker than if he has a multiplicity of functions to carry out.

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I must not, however, be understood to advocate the extension of this principle all over the areas of administration from top to bottom. In the case of the higher jurisdiction, civil and criminal, it is necessary to carry it out. But in the small rural areas and in the villages elementary magisterial powers may still be vested in the head of the local executive of the government. This might specially be advisable in the Native States, where the administrative organisation is either imperfect or backward or both, and where, owing to the immemorial existence of despotic rule and absence of recognition of rights in the subject on the part of the rulers, the people are inclined to regard their own interests as always hostile to those of the State, and being ever accustomed to labour for the latter

under compulsion, may mistake liberty as a justification for indifference or neglect or even obstruction hurtful to the public service and general welfare.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse: pages 63-64*

A DELEGATION of POWERS.

ALONG with certainty of tenure and remuneration, it is equally necessary that every office and post from that of the Divan or Minister to the smallest functionary should have its precise power and responsibility defined ; for it is only then that responsibility can be properly exacted as it ought to be strictly enforced, and the possession of responsible authority and the certain knowledge that it will have to be promptly and duly exercised help to secure a faithful discharge of trust and continued efficiency. In many Native States, however, this defect alone is enough to account for a great deal of the looseness which characterises their conduct of affairs ; for, in the absence of defined powers and responsibilities, the biggest official sometimes has to abstain from exercising the smallest power, and as a consequence almost everybody shirks the performance of any duty for which, should it not prove agreeable to the powers that be, he

is not sure he may not be taken to task, and yet the performance of which may be essential to the public welfare. Another advantage of the gradation of power and responsibility is that the mistakes to which men are liable in work of the first instance can be rectified by those above them, and that in due course it becomes the prerogative and the privilege of the supreme ruler to eliminate, as far as is given to human agents honestly exercising power to eliminate, all error and injustice and oppression from the administration, and thus make for good government and righteous rule. Officers, however, who are to be entrusted with power must be selected with care. The rank and file must, as a rule, belong to the State, and their nomination be subject to regular tests; but in making selections for the higher and responsible offices it is necessary to guard against two sorts of people: (1) those who from their position and circumstances would supply an illustration of the phrase that the nose-ring is heavier than the nose, and (2) those likely, from the same influences, to be tempted to make hay while the sun shines. Of course,

this is only a general observation, and personal antecedents, character, principles and temperament, which go to counteract the natural inclinations of a class must not be overlooked especially as it will be long before you can dispense with the necessity of employing in important offices others than your own subjects, and, indeed, in some cases it would be even wise and beneficial to keep up that practice.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse: Pages 67-68.*

QUALIFIED AGENCY FOR PUBLIC SERVICE.

THE necessity of qualification in Public Service is self-evident, because there is no business, even of a private character, which can be well done by any man who has not acquired some sort of training to enable him to perform it. But what we have to learn from our English friends is the wisdom of their policy in securing along with efficiency the maintenance of a general sense of responsibility and fidelity in the discharge of duties in the members of the Public Services : and these, so far as administrative means are concerned--for, the ultimate basis of success and strength is high-toned public morality combined with public spirit—are generally insured by the two conditions of (1) a certainty of tenure during good behaviour and capacity for work, and (2) a prospect of pension during the period of superannuation as a provision for old age and infirmity. It is these two conditions which attracted

thousands upon thousands of the Indian people, of all classes and grades to the service, alike in military and in civil departments, of alien rulers, even at a time when physical contact with them was regarded as contamination, and enabled the latter to acquire, and still helps them to govern their vast dominions from a base more than four thousand miles away.

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The moral effect of the trust reposed in fidelity to engagements in all...departments of the State, and the confidence which is thereby created, secured, and still continues to secure, faithfulness in the discharge of public duty of every kind and in every line of work, and this is the reason why even higher paid posts in Native States are not readily accepted unless they are either temporary exchanges for the British service or are in some form or other guaranteed by the British Government. It is an essential part of this system, however, that while efficiency and good behaviour are always allowed their dues, all proved breach of trust and wilful dereliction of duty and commission of wrong are promptly and adequately punished, so that

fear of punishment plays therein at least as great a part as the love of reward.

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Let it not, therefore, be supposed that it is all a trick of administrative skill and policy that effects such a wonder. No. It is the systematic maintenance by means of appropriate rewards and punishments of the claims of right and justice, which the strict observance of official promises implies, that forms the real basis of the strength and success of British rule.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse : Pages 65-67.*

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

IT is a matter of the utmost importance, because...it is the nature of its district administration more than anything else that indicates the true character of a rule, and determines the conditions of its subjects. Urban populations living usually in compact masses, following independent lines of occupation and possessing worldly means, are surrounded by conditions favourable for the development of intelligence, culture, and public spirit, which may tend to modify within their own limits the legitimate results of the action of a Government ruling over them ; but these results show themselves in their true colors in the villages in which all the world over the people live scattered, poor, ignorant, and depending for their weal or woe mainly, if not entirely, on the conduct and policy of their rulers. Hence the solicitude of every wise and enlightened Government ought to be specially devoted to its district administration, which is also the chief basis of its strength.

It is, then, hardly necessary to observe that for the Native States in these times anything having the least approach or semblance to the old custom of farming any portion of the work of administration is out of date and out of the question. The administration must be all departmental, after the model of British India. Authority in Native territory generally is often feebly and irregularly enforced, and wherever or whenever it is exerted with persevering strength or energy, it is not from the best or wisest of motives ; but in British India it is exercised with uniform strictness, which is necessary to secure efficiency and respect for the law. The law itself may be mild or mildly administered from principle ; but there must be no paltering with its execution. Hence the necessity of adopting a machinery which might be depended upon duly to carry out orders and to ensure the maintenance of peace. This virtue the centralised system possesses because under it even the smallest official feels that he has the strength of the whole Government at his back, and therefore it is that the management of the country by the British

succeeded even at a time when their ideas and principles of Government differed so much from those of the people they were called upon to rule and they were themselves individually few in number compared with the masses of the latter. But the system has this inherent draw-back that it places much power in the hands of subordinates by whom it is liable to be misused. The subordinates have here special opportunities to misbehave. But as there is no system which is not open to some objection or other, wisdom consists in adopting the one which contains the greatest good, providing remedies against the abuse to which it is liable. Even in the management of private business, constant care has to be taken to prevent misconduct or breach of trust. Much more effort, therefore, is needed to watch over the concerns of a people and the affairs of a Government. Superior officers must look after the conduct of their subordinates, while, on the other hand, the people themselves must be no less watchful of their own interests, remembering that violence to the rights of the smallest member of society, if tolerated and

acquiesced in for any time must sooner or later result in the invasion of the rights of or injury to the whole.

You must then adopt the departmental system, because it is the only efficient method of carrying on the work of administration, but at the same time you must regard against the evil to which it is characteristically prone and for checking which the Native States possess some facilities which are wanting in British India. For instance, their areas are small and can, therefore, be supervised more easily. Again, in British India the ruling class are separated from the ruled by a wide social gulf, in consequence of which matters which are fully talked about and believed in among the latter are unknown to the former and even when they are reported to them in some shape they do not find easy credence ; whereas, in spite of all their differences of creeds and castes, there is no social chasm nor much diversity of language between the rulers of Native States and their subjects and in this fact they possess an advantage which can be utilised for the purpose referred to. There the humble subject can speak to the highest authority with a confidence and certainty of

being understood or at any rate of not being misunderstood.

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On the other hand, British India enjoys a constitutional government and safeguards of liberty to which the meanest can appeal for protection against the most exalted personage but which the Native States totally lack. Under the shelter, however, of the great advantage of social solidarity with their subjects which the Native Princes possess, it would be possible for them to remove the chief defect of their rule and construct a system of local administration tolerably free from the drawback attaching to centralized authority. The essential features of such a system must be, on the one hand, a close and constant supervision of such a system of the subordinates from above. There should be no judicial ignorance of, or neglect to inquire into, wrongful practices which give clear indications of their existence, and anybody found guilty of corrupt or oppressive behaviour must be sternly dealt with and made an example of. On the other hand, as much of the administra-

tion as is possible with safety to all interests must be placed under the influence of the people themselves.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse. Pages 69-72.*

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT.

WHAT you must do is to take up each village and township, and wherever the necessary material exists, give to each the necessary local powers fully covered by local responsibility; leave the rest to the supervision of a properly constituted central office; but where there is no desire or intelligence on the part of the people to undertake the duty, leave your official agency to carry on both the local work and the supervision, with the prospect of a transfer of the former to local hands whenever a desire for it among the people themselves clearly manifests itself. Thus the work may go on quietly and by calling up the powers of the people tend to progressiveness; and this is all that a Raja need or can do to give a healthy shape to the district administration of his State, for thereby he would be just to his subjects and just to himself and give to the former good government and at the same time provide for their

advancement in local self-management which is alike beneficial to them and to him and therefore to the entire State.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse: Page 87.*

Finance.

FINANCE indeed is the backbone of a State and no difficulties it may have to encounter can be compared with the troubles and dangers which have their root in disordered finances. This fact has been so well established by experience both here and elsewhere that little need be said in favour of their sound and careful management. The two great helps to such management are accurate accounts of past years and a tolerably reliable forecast of the income and liabilities of the coming twelve month, in the absence of which the ablest ruler can only grope in the dark and unconsciously tread on pitfalls except of course where the efficiency of the public administration is held to be a matter of little or no consequence.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse : pages 90 and 91.*

An Audit Department.

AN audit department as a check on all unauthorised expenditure is necessary in the interests of the State itself. Nothing favours speculation and misappropriation of the public money so much as entrusting one and the same department with the power of collecting taxes, sanctioning or incurring expenditure and keeping accounts. Therefore, this function of keeping accounts and of seeing that no department, however important, and no officer, however exalted incurs the smallest expenditure that has not been previously sanctioned must be vested in a special department which shall have no hand or part in any branch of the work of administration, and the head of which is subordinate only to the ruling authority. The wisdom of this policy of separation of these different functions carried on by different departments acting in cordial co-operation with each other and loyal subordination to all constituted authority and to the head of the management, is demonstrated by the British

system of administration and is among the most important lessons taught to India by it. It can not therefore be too early or too faithfully followed, not only in the government of Native States, but also in the conduct of all corporate functions, and all private enterprises and joint undertakings whatsoever. For, it hardly needs to be pointed out, that it is this system that enables not only the Government to carry on its work, but also private companies successfully to undertake large commercial, agricultural and manufacturing enterprises from headquarters thousands of miles away and with the help mainly of paid agency.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse : Pages 64-65.*

ANNUAL REPORT.

THE leading facts of the administration should be published in an annual report, which should inform both the people and those who rule over them in what direction and manner the vessel of State is steering ; what are its needs and requirements ; and how they may best be met. The regularity, punctuality and correctness with which these results of the year's working of the administrative machinery can be furnished to the public will afford no small proof of the efficiency of the different departments which compose it and of the satisfaction they are capable of giving to the subjects, and this is a point which should always be kept in view by the supervising authorities.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse Page 91.*

SOME IMPORTANT MEASURES FOR
THE PROMOTION OF THE HAPPINESS
OF THE PEOPLE.

1. The First Duty of a Maharaja.
2. The Police.
3. The Military Forces.
4. Administration of Justice.
5. Legislation.
6. A Written Code of Laws.
7. Public Health.
8. Education.
9. Research Work.
10. Facilities to the Ryots.
11. Development of Arts and Industries.
12. Manufactures.
13. Legion of Honour.

THE FIRST DUTY OF A MAHARAJA.

THE first duty of the Maharaja is to promote the happiness of his people—of all his people impartially. The Maharaja who fulfils this fundamental duty to the utmost extent in his power, secures the greatest attachment of his people and is therefore, most firmly seated on his Gadi. He will have the least troubles and anxieties in the government of his country. He will (thereby) secure his own personal happiness to the utmost. He will be maintained, supported and honoured most by the Paramount Power. page 99.

The happiness of the people may be divided into two parts or kinds, viz., first, that which each individual of the community may obtain for himself by means of his own exertions, and secondly, that which the individual cannot obtain for himself by means of his own exertions, but which must be secured to him by the action of the State.

The happiness which arises from having sufficient food, clothes, furniture, etc., depends

on the (exertions of) the individual himself (and little or no action can usually be taken to secure it for him by the State). On the other hand the happiness arising from the feelings that :—

1. He will not be robbed, or otherwise forcibly or fraudulently dispossessed of his property.
2. He will not be murdered or wounded, or otherwise injured in his person.
3. His disputes with others will be fairly investigated and justly decided.
4. Good sanitary arrangements (exist) in cities, towns (and villages), so that diseases and other evils are prevented as far as possible.
5. Good medical assistance is within the reach for the cure or mitigation of diseases.
6. Good schools are available for the instruction of children and so on :
must be provided for by the State.

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(In short) the most imperative duty of the Sirkar is to do that (which is necessary) for the happiness of the people which they cannot individually do for themselves.

Minor Hints : pages 99—106.

THE POLICE.

THE Sirkar should establish and maintain a good Police for the country in general.

The object of doing so is, of course, to prevent offences as far as possible, and when notwithstanding preventive measures, offences are committed, to find out the offenders and to bring them to punishment.

The Police Force should be efficient to fulfil that object. In other words, it should have a sufficient number of men and officers, in proportion to the area of the country and to the population of the same. It should be well paid as an important inducement for good behaviour. It should be selected so as to secure men and officers of intelligence, activity and integrity. It should be carefully distributed throughout the country so as to benefit every part of the same.

Moreover, good rules should be laid down for the guidance of the Police. What it should do and what it should not do should be clearly defined,

(Then) any misconduct on the part of the Police (when) brought to light, (should be) duly punished. Otherwise the Police would in itself become a source of oppression to the people.

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The Police will (also) be a source of political strength to yourself. There are some turbulent tribes (or) classes of people (everywhere who are) easily excited or misled. They are apt to join in any movement against the Sarkar,...(and) intriguers (may) not (be) wanting, who would make any use of those troublesome elements if there be a good chance of success. Now an adequate and well distributed Police Force will watch all those fellows, who will be deterred from mischief from the very knowledge that they are being watched. Much mischief will thus be absolutely prevented. If notwithstanding (this) any mischief does take place, it will be observed at its very outset, and will be checked easily before it gathers force. This is of the utmost importance, for, remember that (if) a mischievous movement is left unnoticed and unchecked, it grows (every day) stronger and

more extensive. They compel others to join them.

In this way a small beginning might swell to great proportions (if timely action is not taken). What an efficient Police could have easily put down at its incipient stage, might require an army to suppress (afterwards). It may be compared to the progress of a conflagration. If the fire be noticed at the very commencement, it can be easily quenched. But the longer it is left unchecked the more formidable it grows.

Minor Hints: pages 106-110.

The Military Forces.

THE Police has sometimes to use physical force. It has to use force to overcome the force with which it may be opposed. Offenders cannot be expected to quietly obey orders or to surrender themselves without resistance. Sometimes many offenders combine and offer such a degree of resistance that the Police is not strong enough to put (it) down. When such a contingency arises, the Sarkar must not stand still. Once allow such unlawful resistance to prevail—once allow the Sarkar's authority to be set aside or defied,—such resistance will be repeated until the Sarkar's authority is destroyed and anarchy ensues.

It being so necessary to enforce the authority of the State (it becomes imminent) that the State must maintain a Military force to back that of the Police. It is a duty which should be fully attended to in the interests of peace, order and security.

The Military force should be efficient to the requisite degree, of course (it) is to be more efficient than the Police.

Irregular forces are of little or no use (for purposes of assistance to the Police and so need not be maintained if circumstances permit).

It (is) necessary to take care that the efficiency does not fall off. In States laxity is very apt to creep in. There is (therefore) need to be vigilant against such a tendency.

Minor Hints : Pages 115-120

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

(MERE) protection of the life, person, and property of the people (with the help of the Police and Military will not suffice). (A great) requisite (in addition) is a proper machinery for the *Administration of Justice* (i. e.) a series of courts, with graduated powers, for administering Civil and Criminal Justice, the duty of these courts being to decide justly all the numerous disputes which constantly arise among the people themselves.

The people are, of course, a body of individuals. Differences and disputes constantly arise between individuals (or bodies of individuals). If these differences and disputes are not justly investigated and decided as they arise, grave evils will ensue. Individual will fight with individual, family with family, bodies of persons with other bodies. Small matters will grow into large matters. Strong passions will be excited. Breaches of the peace will constantly occur. Killing,

wounding, plundering will become very common. The motives for peaceful industry will be greatly weakened—perhaps extinguished. The motives for the accumulation of wealth will similarly suffer. In short, great confusion will prevail and the happiness of the people will be destroyed.

It will thus be seen how essential it is for good government to establish courts of justice.

It is owing to the operations of the judicial tribunals that the weak are protected against the strong—that the good are protected against the bad....that peace and order prevail, and that men are enabled to enjoy as much liberty as possible, and are enabled to exert themselves for their happiness without being molested by others—that society is kept well together; and that the forces which tend to promote the happiness of society have free action.

A pure administration of justice is (therefore) essential to the well-being of the people. (To secure this) the officers appointed to

administer justice should be men of good character and possessing the requisite knowledge of judicial work.

Minor Hints: Pages 121-134.

LEGISLATION.

IT is the great and imperative right and duty of (Your) Highness not only to maintain the Judicial machinery, but to see that this machinery properly fulfils its purposes.

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For this purpose it is obviously essential that the judicial tribunals should have proper instructions from the State. The Judges and Magistrates cannot be left to dispense justice just as they like. They ought to have principles and rules given them by the State for their guidance. These principles and rules are known as the *laws* of the country.

These laws are the orders of the State issued for the information and the guidance of the Judges, and also of the people in general. The happiness of the people ought to be the chief and ultimate aim of these laws.

It is certainly one of the most difficult of human labours to frame a complete body of good laws for any community. Good laws must be the product of long experience, careful

observation and intelligent labours of the highest order.

(When you wish to frame new laws), note what few laws (the State) already (has) ; (also) note the great and universal principles of justice known to the civilised world ; further note the laws which govern similar neighbouring communities, and the good customs which have prevailed in the (country). On a combined consideration of all these, (you) must frame your instructions to judicial tribunals.

(But) even then the new laws should not be passed in any haste. The utmost deliberation should precede the passing of any new law.

Discuss the proposed law with the principal Ministers and principal Judges and some of the principal intelligent members of the general community and take their opinions. Consult also intelligent members of that part of the community which may be effected by the proposed law. Freely elicit objections in order that they may be known and may be duly weighed.

As a rule do not pass any law which is opposed by the great proportion of those with whom you have fully discussed it. Indeed, it would be quite unsafe—it might be even dangerous for any Maharaja to pass any law or any part of a law, without at least some of his Ministers and some of his Judges assenting to the same, and being prepared to defend the same, if assailed, and to be fully responsible for its soundness.

Minor Hints: Pages 143-151.

A WRITTEN CODE OF LAWS

A written code of laws is, indeed, a plain necessity in the management of any territory deserving to be called a State. Rules and instructions are required even in the conduct of any private business or property which has to be managed through agents ; a State or Kingdom, therefore, must have a written code of laws above all things. We have now in some of the States such a code, and in others its rudimentary substitute called by the names of *Pasams* or *Sadamai Shirastas* or standing customs ; but as laws are sought to be twisted to their ends by parties to a suit, so the precise meaning or the existence of the customs is often called in question. It would therefore be well to have the true import of these customs ascertained by a Commission irrespective of application to any individual cases or dispute, and systematised. They would, then, form a good basis of legislation which could be amended and improved with adaptations from the Shastric institutes of old and from the laws of

British India, so as to supplement what is wanting, and modify what is defective, and refine what is crude and barbarous in the existing arrangements....But the making of laws is not half so important as the observance of them, and to secure this end no one, however highly placed, must be exempted from their operation: the King himself must not be above the law, though he is the first and chief agent for framing and carrying it out; and when a necessity for action arises, which is not provided for legislatively, a law must be made for it and thus the reign of law must be perpetuated and people taught practically to feel that no one is above the law.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political
Recluse: pages 61-62.*

PUBLIC HEALTH,

THERE are some important matters connected with public health which individuals cannot ensure. They are matters which the Government alone can properly arrange.'

Where people live in numbers and close to each other as in cities and towns, cleanliness has to be maintained as an important condition of public health. Dirt and refuse have to be removed from the streets. The drains have to be kept in good order. Abundance of fresh air has to be let in—and so forth. All this is called *sanitation*. With this may be combined several arrangements for public convenience, comfort, and safety. For example, good carriage roads may be made. The roads may be watered and lighted. Appliances may be kept ready to put down fires.

Another measure of great importance to public health is to give the people a sufficient and pure supply of water for daily use. In tropical climates, this is one of the most valued

of blessings. The Maharaja who confers this blessing is sure to live in the memory of a grateful people.

Another measure conducive to public health is to give to the crowded inhabitants of the city some pleasant and airy places, to which they can drive, ride or walk ; and where they can spend some portion of their leisure during the morning or evening with great benefit to their health.

Another measure conducive to public health is to arrange for the vaccination of the people and the consequent prevention of the dreadful attacks of the small-pox.

Another measure conducive to public health is to establish, at the various centres of population, Hospitals and Dispensaries where sick persons may easily obtain medical advice, medical treatment, and the requisite medicines themselves.

Any Government which cares for the happiness of the people will earnestly attend to all these measures and, perhaps, to others also of the kind. Money spent on such measures is always well spent. The people

have an undoubted right to be thus protected in their health. The Maharaja, who acts as the father of his people, will always cheerfully arrange for the health of his people.

Minor Hints : pages 167-169.

EDUCATION.

IT is the duty of the Government to look after the intellectual advancement of the people. The origin of this duty is self evident. The Maharaja is the father of his people, and the father wishes to make his children not only healthy and happy, but wise also.

* * * *

High education, through the medium of the English language, should be placed within the reach of those who are disposed to acquire the same. Those who have acquired it will probably be the most enlightened members of the community (and) foremost to correct the gross errors of ignorance and superstition.

The highest and best English school should be at the Capital of the State.

(But) it is not enough to have one central school at the capital. Several feeders to the same should be established both at the capital

and in the Districts, in the shape of Anglo-Vernacular schools. The number must be gradually increased.

The scheme of studies in all the above-mentioned schools should be the same as in corresponding British (Indian) schools.

The great mass of the people (will thus) be educated through the Vernacular schools established at all centres of population including the Capital.

The Vernacular schools should include schools for girls (also) wherever there is a demand for these.

There ought to be a few Sanskrit schools (too). Sanskrit learning must not be allowed to perish from neglect. But too many must not be tempted to become devotees to make a living by its means. (If possible) Sanskrit schools should be in connection with and (partly) at the cost of well-endowed Hindu temples.

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Scholarships may be given to enable some of those who have finished their course in schools to prosecute their studies to a higher

standard (outside), the scholarships being given to the deserving and on certain judicious conditions.

Public Libraries, Reading-rooms, lectures and all other similar educational agencies should be assisted and encouraged.

By steadily acting on the main lines above suggested, the intellectual welfare of the people will be gradually but effectually promoted and one of the most important duties of the State will be fulfilled.

Minor Hints: pages 198—203.

Research Work.

BUT in addition to the usual arrangements for imparting instruction, *some provision should be made*, and here private benefaction may well co-operate with the State, *for carrying on original research and investigation into the physical and moral sciences in their application to this country.* The necessity for such provision is indeed self-evident: without original researches and investigations all education must remain more or less a mechanical process, all knowledge, ancient or modern, inherited or acquired, a dead possession, unable to influence the national life materially, morally or socially below the surface or make any advance over what is taught and learnt at schools and colleges.

Facilities to the Ryot.

A LARGE portion of four people derive their subsistence from the cultivation of soil.

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To make them happy and to promote the growth of wealth from land the Sirkar's tax on the land should be moderate, so moderate as to leave the ryots enough to maintain themselves and their families in fair comfort.

* * * *

Another important thing necessary to make the ryots happy and to promote the growth of wealth from land, is that the ryots should have a good tenure for holding the land. The ryots should feel every confidence that they will not be deprived of their land so long as they regularly pay the Sirkar's tax due thereon. The ryots should feel that, provided they pay the tax regularly, they can hold the land for generations. It has been proved by reasoning, and has been found

by experience, that nothing is more prejudicial to agricultural prosperity than insecurity of possession.

Another important thing necessary to make the ryots happy and to promote the growth of wealth from land is that, when the land is made to yield more in consequence of the application, to the land, of the ryots' labour and capital, the Sirkar should not increase its tax (arbitrarily) and thereby deprive the ryots (prematurely) of the fair return due to their labour and capital. If the Sirkar pursues a contrary policy the ryots will feel no inducement to lay out their labour and capital for the improvement of the land; the yield of the land will not increase and may even decrease.

Another important thing necessary to make the ryots happy and to promote the growth of wealth from land is that Izardars or farmers of revenue should not be employed between the ryots and the Sirkar. Such agents used to be extensively employed in former times, and they used to oppress and impoverish the ryots terribly. The best system is that known as the ryotwari, that is to say,

that system under which the Sirkar deals with each ryot directly. This system is really most favourable to the ryot ; it secures him justice and consideration, and promotes his self-respect and independence. The only thing is that such a system will require the employment of an extensive agency and an agency most carefully selected with reference to knowledge, experience, judgment, and probity. The cost of such agency will be more than repaid by the saving of what the Izardar would otherwise have pocketed, while an immense advantage is that the ryot will be protected against heavy and arbitrary exactions.

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It is essential to agricultural prosperity that agricultural produce should not be burdened with any heavy duties when the same is exported. If the produce could be altogether freed from export duty this would be the best thing. But if circumstances make this difficult the export duty must be very moderate.

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More valuable crops may be raised by providing or improving the means of irrigation. By such means, land which has been yielding some poor crop may, for example, be made to yield sugarcane. Instead of yielding 20 rupees' worth of crop per acre it may be made to yield 200 rupees' worth—an immense gain to the ryot individually and to the people generally.

Hence the Sirkar should do everything possible to encourage the multiplication of (the) means of irrigation.

The great bulk of agricultural produce has to be carried to the market for sale. The charge for such carriage may seem small in individual cases, but, on the whole, it is a serious item. It follows that any measure which will reduce the cost of carriage will be a great benefit to the ryot and to the community. Therefore, the Sirkar should make roads of different classes according to local requirements and resources, and should even make railroads wherever suitable. It should be remembered that when produce has to be carried on the heads of coolies the cost of carriage is highest; when pack bullocks

carry the produce, the cost of carriage is lowered; when carts carry the produce, specially on metalled roads, the cost of carriage is still further lowered. And carriage of produce by railway is the cheapest of the whole.

Another means of increasing the production of land in a country is to have rules by which the ryots of the country are enabled to obtain waste land on easy terms and on a secure tenure.

Minor Hints : pages 179—185.

Development of Arts and Industries.

IF arts and industries are to be developed—and that they must be developed is one of the urgent needs of the times—natural talent must be utilised and improved by the best training which can be given on the spot or obtained in foreign countries where it is at its highest. The knowledge and skill thus acquired must be applied to the development of the resources of the State, whether agricultural, mineral, manufacturing, or artistic, and they must be directed towards the production of articles of such quality and at such cost that they shall be enabled to hold their own against outside competition. But your Court and your Administration must set the example of extending their patronage to them. Under such an impulse the old arts and industries ought not only to preserve their special characteristics, but also to be able by comparison with foreign models even to strike out new styles of work and ornament, and thus add

to their excellence and reputation. In the case of entirely new lines of business, however, the State, in the present want of knowledge and enterprise among its people, must also, cautiously and under well-considered conditions, take some share of the initial risk. In these and in similar other ways must technical education and industrial enterprise be made fruitful of good and a source of prosperity to the people and to the State. Of course, all these measures will require money, and money must be found for them, even if as a prudential investment in behalf of the commonwealth. The educational efforts of a State, then, ought not to end with schools and colleges, but they must run through other measures and institutions calculated to exert an educative and inspiring influence on the mass of its people generally, and stimulate their intelligence and industry. Museums, in which are gathered together for the inspection and edification even of the untravelled the distant products of skill and industry might be established in suitable centres; exhibitions and shows held periodically at which the people would be able to realise how far their near and remote competitors fell short of or surpassed them in

the production of superior goods and stock, and stimulated to attain facility and excellence therein ; and special prizes might be offered and patents given for the introduction of new workmanship and industries, or for improvements in the methods of the old. These and other means, which ought to be adopted for unfolding the material side of the resources of the State, are well known from their success among Europeans. I attach, however, still greater importance to what may be called the cultivation of the moral resources, that is, giving a free scope and full encouragement to the development of the mental and moral capacities of man himself, because it is the unfolding of those capacities which forms man's crown on earth, which constitutes the real greatness of people, and which is intimately connected even with material progress.

Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political

Recluse : pages 108 and 109.

Manufactures.

BESIDES land, there are other sources of wealth. Manufactures form the most important of these ; manufactures supply the means of living to a portion of the population. As such, manufactures must be encouraged in every legitimate manner. This is all the more imperative because the population is increasing and there is not land enough to occupy all the population. That part of the population which cannot get land to cultivate must have recourse to manufactures.

It follows that the Sirkar should not tax the manufactures of the country. If the Sirkar must tax to some extent, the tax must be very moderate, indeed—it must be so moderate as not to repress or restrict the manufactures to an appreciable degree.

To promote the manufactures of the country, the Sirkar should refrain from taxing the raw materials used in such manufactures, for taxing the raw materials would be indirectly, but in effect, taxing the manufactures themselves.

Similarly, to promote the same object, all machinery used for local manufactures should be free from Sirkar taxes. So also coal which may be necessary to make the machinery go. This (is) particularly in reference to any mills which may be introduced in the (State).

Minor Hints : pages 185 and 186.

Legion of Honour.

NOW, all this is intended to lead to the suggestion that you should institute orders of distinction within your own dominions for the public recognition of worth and reward of merit among your own subjects. The love of honour and distinction in the eyes of our fellow men is strong in the human breast, and it is wise and just to gratify it when deserved through exemplary behaviour. The individual indeed, must pursue right and duty for their own sake; but the State cannot be doing wrong in putting its own value on such a pursuit, and thus using it as a means for raising the moral tone and promoting the happiness of the community; nay, it is its duty not to neglect those means which have been placed at its disposal to that end. There should, then, be established orders to distinguish all kinds of public services and personal merits and virtues throughout the State. Exceptional fidelity to trust in the presence of great temptation, originality in literature and science, inventiveness in art or manufac-

ture, courage and intrepidity in saving human life, self-sacrificing exertions in relieving human suffering, munificence and liberality directed to the advancement of the general welfare, disinterested devotion to and pursuit of the public good—signal examples of these and similar other virtues and also extraordinary examples of devotion to duty and tenderness shown even in humble private life under trying conditions and circumstances should be formally recognised by the State and honoured with suitable distinction according to their degrees of merit, from rewards and titles to mere mentions with approbation in the *State Gazette*, which, when judiciously and impartially bestowed, cannot fail to be appreciated and prized. The holders of these distinctions will then go to form a veritable “Legion of Honour”; they would constitute the true nobility of nature and the aristocracy of intellect among the people, and vying with the men of birth, wealth, and position, would imperceptibly contribute to the elevation and advancement of society. Of course the Raja must be the head and patron of all the Orders, because he is the representative of the State and as such the

fountain source of all honour and authority proceeding from it, and from this double position duly sustained it must follow that your Court will be the cherished home of those beneficent agencies and influences appertaining to times past and to times present which make for the improvement of men's condition in this world and fit him for a better—a source of pride and hope to your people and of envy and example to your neighbours.

Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political Recluse :
pages 114 and 115.

APPENDIX.

1. Old Hindu Ideal.
2. A Scheme of Administration.
3. General Abstract of the Scheme of Administration.

Old Hindu Ideal.

IF we are to follow the old Hindu ideal as was followed by that genius, Shivaji, the functions of an Indian Ruler can be divided under two heads : one to 'rule' and the other to 'reign'. Under the first he should keep himself in touch with the current work by giving audiences to his Secretary daily and to his Chief Minister occasionally every week according to the pressure of work. He should also keep himself in touch with the general trend of affairs by giving occasional audiences to men of light and leading engaged in various vocations of life, and also to officers who may be on a visit to the capital. He should also show his esteem to non-officials by inviting them to Darbars on ceremonial occasions. Such a treatment accorded to men of light and leading will not only bring them in greater contact with their ruler, but will also raise them in their own estimation. Such a contact will demolish the stamp of inferiority which manifests itself when there is no intercourse between the rulers and the ruled on

more or less friendly terms. By respecting the self-respect of his people their respect will increase for him, and thus the feeling of loyalty will be generated and strengthened which is such a tremendous cementing force that no ruler can afford to neglect it with the rising tide of democracy which is destined soon to invade even the slow moving East.

Under the head of 'reign' the ruler should acquaint himself with the progress of work in each department co-ordinating it with the progress of work in other departments. In order that every one should be discharging his duty properly, punctually, and methodically he should be in the habit of summoning any officer above a certain rank, and above all he should be accessible to the humblest of his subjects as the Great Akbar was, and thus keep up the old ideal of paternal kingship. It is so much ingrained in the minds of the people, and it is very necessary to keep it up in these moving times.

By following this method worked out by the genius of our ancestors and which happily is in so much accord with the modern Western ideal the Indian Rulers will once more enshrine

themselves in the hearts of their grateful people who are still swayed by the theory of the divinity of kings.

In order that it should be possible to carry out this ideal, it is essential that the Chief Minister should be his real representative capable of taking all responsibility of executive administration and to act on his own initiative. He should be in a position to remove friction in the working of different departments and co-ordinate their work. He should be in a position to think on problems of progress, and he should also be able to watch the trend of events and receive guidance from the ruler.

Each officer in charge of a department or departments should be the real head and be in a position to carry on the work leading to the general progress of the administration.

All subordinates under the head of a department should have duties assigned to them and allowed to work in such a manner that there is no interference from their superiors unless absolutely necessary and they should be allowed sufficient powers and enough latitude to work on their own initiative and responsibility.

Devolution and decentralisation of powers should reach even the autonomous village panchayat, broadened in organic connection established between the humblest villager and the Central Government. Thus every unit of administration will work in union with other units and everyone will be afforded an opportunity to work for his own well-being, the general progress of the State, the contentment of the people, and the glory of the Ruler.

Wake up, Princes : pages 75—77.

A Scheme of Administration.

I HAVE drawn a skeleton scheme on the basis of the ancient Hindu ideal of administration indicating the duties of all the units of the hierarchy of administration from the ruler to the village panchayat. The scheme is but an outline and affords some food for reflection.

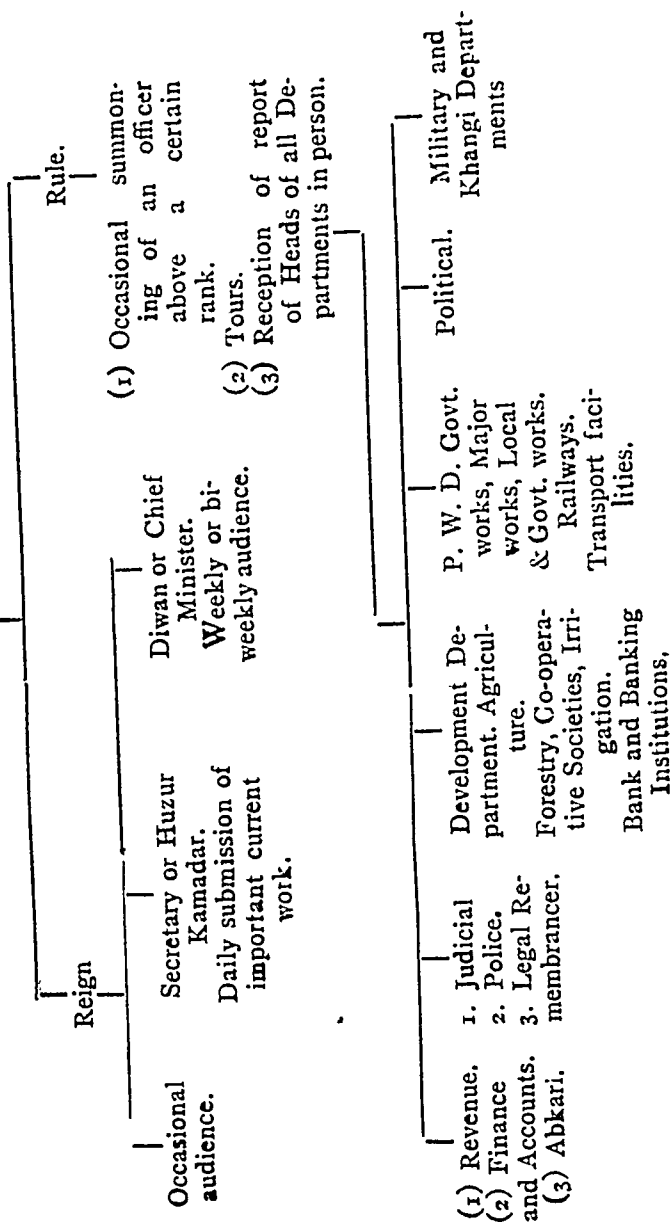
Wake up, Princes : page 77.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

1. Economy of time.
2. Method.
3. Division of work.

HIS HIGHNESS.



AUDIENCE.

Officers.

- (a) Periodical visits.
 (b) Also visits of Officers who come on a visit to the Capital either on Government or private business.

Non-Officials.

Men of note engaged in trade, commerce, and industries.
 Professions: Military Caste men working in the Raj or outside the Raj.

Visits on Ceremonial Occasions.

Dasehra.

Men of Military profession,
 Thakors, Ankadars, etc.

Diwali.

Trade.
 Commerce.
 Industries.

Accession Day.

A few men of all classes, best of each class.

Birthday.

Professionals.
 Lawyers.
 Educationists.

N. B.—Naib Diwan in charge of Departments may be kept present during the reception of reports

**DIWAN OR CHIEF MINISTER (NOT CHIEF
SECRETARY) PRESIDENT OF THE
COUNCIL.**

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

1. Non-observance of caste bias.
 2. Appreciation of merit in subordinates.
 3. Swift approbation and punishment.
 4. Steady attempt to raise the State
morally, materially and socially.
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FUNCTIONS.

Smoothering
Branch.

Periodical reports of retrospection on the working of each department in co-ordination with other departments.

Thinking
Branch.

Problems on hand for consideration in co-ordination with different departments.

Development
Branch.

Progress of various industries in existence and attempts made to introduce new ones.

Political
Branch.

Change in the policy by British Government and its effect on the well-being of the State. Study of old pending cases and study of progress made in other Indian States. Occasional friendly visits to other States for first-hand information.

N. B.—He should see everything is running smoothly and keep His Highness informed during his audience.

Progress made should be brought to His Highness's notice from time to time.

His Highness should be kept informed.

His Highness should be kept informed.

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

Mostly Administrative and not at all Executive.

Complete control on the working of the Department and the whole subordinate staff.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

1. Strict observance of distinction between Executive and Administrative work.
2. Proper respect to be accorded to Executive heads of districts and their subordinates.
3. Punctuality and method in carrying out work.

FUNCTIONS.

Periodical reports of retrospection. Submitted to Diwan Sahib personally.	Steps taken to meet the commendation of the subordinates.	New facilities provided other than those recommended by their subordinate officers.
Problems on hand. Progress made.	Inspection of subordinate offices. Original work taken up only when on tours of inspection.	Disposal of appeals.

EXECUTIVE HEAD OF THE DISTRICT.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

He should be made the real executive head of the District and people should look up to him.

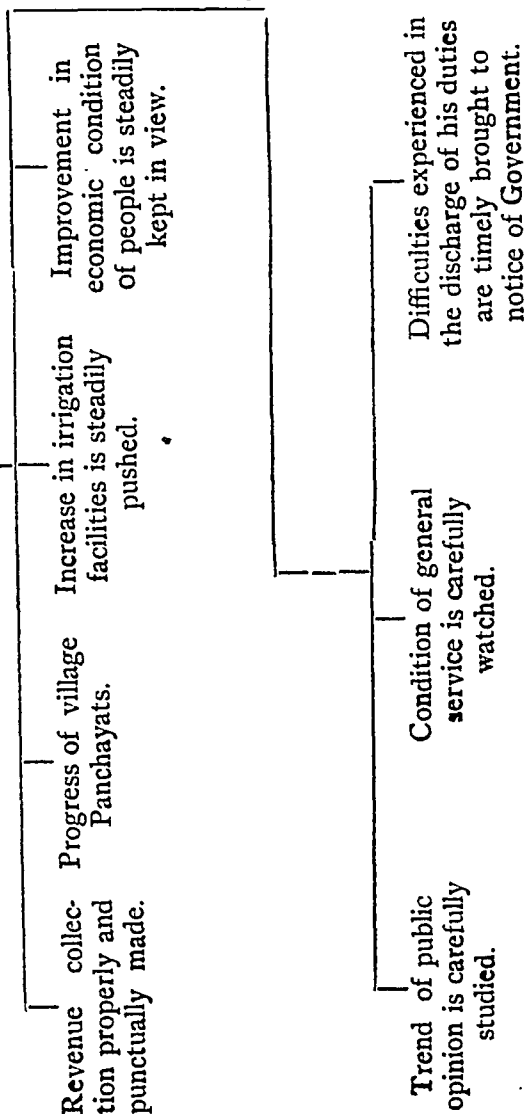
He should have complete control on his subordinate staff.

He should be the real head of Police but not of Magistrates.

EXECUTIVE HEAD OF THE. DISTRICT.

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Functions.



EXECUTIVE EFFICIENCY

Reduction in unneces- sary work made.	Qualified and sufficient estab- lish- ment maintained.	Correction or liberal interpreta- tion of rules suggested.	Modifica- tion of rules under changed times suggested.	System of timely and methodical work enforced.	Change in procedure to save time is suggested.
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Wake up, Princes : pages 198—203.

General Abstract of the Scheme of Administration.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

EACH unit of the administrative machinery from the village Panchayat upwards should be allowed to work freely and fully.

No control should be exercised from within but from without.

1. His Highness may learn in audience how the work is going on and lay down policies for the good conduct of administration for the good of the public. He is not to be the President of Council, but the final just Authority.

2. Diwan should co-ordinate the work of all Heads of Departments. Directly he should only be in charge of the Political Department.

3. Naib-Diwan should be in charge of various Departments.

4. Sar Suba should be the administrative head of the Revenue Department proper.

5. Suba should co-ordinate the work of all his subordinates and be the real executive Head of a District.

6. Naib Suba should verify the work of the Vahivatdar (Tehsildar) by inspection and in appeal and be the real Head of his Sub-Division.

7. Vahivatdar should verify and pass orders on the work of the village Panchayats and be the real Head of his Taluka.

8. Work should begin with the village Panchayat pertaining to the people living in that village.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS.

- (a) To inquire into all applications of men living in villages and to give opinions in some, orders in other matters within their powers.
- (b) Giving copies of documents and receiving documents for transmission.

Wake up, Princes : page 204.

PART III
POLITICAL EFFICIENCY.

“Maintain intact the relations existing between the British Government and your State.”

UNDER
POLITICAL EFFICIENCY

may be considered with respect to each other
the relations of—

1. The British Government.
2. His Highness the Maharaja.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

1. Its Supremacy.
2. Its Accredited Agent.
3. Its Policy—
 - (a) History of the Policy.
 - (b) Royal Proclamations I
 II
 III
 IV
 - (c) Speeches of Viceroys I
 II
 III
 - (d) Gleanings from books I
 II
 III

ITS SUPREMACY.

NOTHING is more important than that the Maharaja should study carefully and thoroughly the relations of his State with the British Government. They involve many momentous, difficult and delicate matters, of which the Maharaja should have an accurate and complete knowledge. Upon such knowledge depends, in a very large measure, His Highness's safety, honour, strength, and happiness.

The British Government exercises supreme sway over (the whole of India) and maintains the general peace of this vast (Continent). It fulfils this great function with a power which is irresistible.

It follows that every Native Prince should conciliate the British Government.

Happily, however, the character and qualities of the British Government are such that conciliation is not difficult or costly.

Moreover, while the British Government is physically irresistible it wisely permits

itself beyond all example to be resistible in the peaceful field of reason, justice, and morality. It is anxious to abstain from everything unreasonable, unjust, or immoral. The consequence of this anxiety is that, if it ever be unconsciously led into any unreasonable, unjust or immoral action, you have only to prove to it that the action is such and it may generally be expected to withdraw from such action. This is a great and distinguishing characteristic of the British Government.

Minor Hints, pages 260—262.

Its Accredited Agent.

IT is of very great importance that the relations between His Highness the Maharaja and the British Resident should be friendly and pleasant.

The Maharaja should always be careful to show to the Resident every due or customary mark of respect. In these matters His Highness should strictly recognise precedents.

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If, in spite of every care and attention, any mark of respect due to the Resident happens to be omitted on any occasion His Highness should take the earliest opportunity to express his regret for the accident.

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Some differences of opinion will occasionally arise. But these should be reduced to the smallest possible number. In a large proportion of instances, inquiry, consultation and

calm reflection will dissipate the grounds of difference and bring about an agreement. In other instances judicious compromises should be effected. In others again, where the interests involved are trifling or transitory, the one party may yield in deference to the other.

There will thus remain a few instances in which the interests at stake are important and the difference of views is considerable. Such instances will necessitate official discussion. In such instances the communication representing His Highness's views should be very carefully drawn up, so that, when they go up to the higher authorities of the British Government, they may produce the desired effect. Those communications should be, so far as possible, complete and comprehensive in themselves ; in language and tone, they should be courteous and respectful ; in facts and arguments they should be perfectly correct and clear, and the principles therein appealed to should be those which are well recognised by the British Government.

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With every necessary care and caution the referring of a difference of opinion to higher authorities may sometimes involve a certain amount of unpleasantness. But, obviously this should not deter the Maharaja from requesting or allowing such a reference where his rights, honour, and dignity, or the welfare of his subjects is concerned. These need always to be defended with firmness as well as with wisdom and moderation. To defend these properly is the imperative duty of the Maharaja. If they be not vigilantly and vigorously defended they would gradually decline and might eventually disappear. The British Government cannot blame a Maharaja for thus defending interests which Her Majesty's great Proclamation of 1858 has declared to be as inviolable as if they were Her Majesty's own.

Minor Hints, pages 311—316

ITS POLICY.

(a) HISTORY OF THE POLICY.

UP to the year 1813 the pressure of Parliament and the prudence of the Merchant Company operated in the direction of a policy of non-intervention. The Company was barely struggling for its existence, and it recoiled from the expense and the danger of extending its treaties of alliance and self-defence beyond the ring-fence of its own territorial acquisitions.

In the next period, which lasted from 1814 to the Mutiny of 1857, larger schemes of Empire dawned upon its horizon and dominated the policy of its Governors-General. The exclusion of any State from the protectorate was proved by experience to be both impolitic and cowardly. Empire was forced upon the British Rulers of India, and the bitter fruits of a policy of leaving the States unprotected were gathered in the Pindari War, in the revival of schemes of conquest in the minds of the Maratha Chiefs, and in the humiliation of the Rajput

Houses. Surrounded on all sides by the country princes the Company's officers saw that no alternative remained except annexation, which they wished to avoid, or a thorough Political settlement of the Empire step by step with the extension of their direct rule. Without order on their frontier peace in their own territories was impossible ; and the only prospect of order amongst the Native States was to undertake arbitration in all their disputes with each other, and to deprive all alike of the right to make war, or to enter into any unauthorised conventions with each other. The policy adopted in this period was one of isolating the Native States and subordinating them to the Political ascendancy of the British Power.

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Then the Mutiny occurred, and after its suppression a final change took place in the relations of the Native States with the paramount Power. As Lord Canning expressed it: " The Crown of England stands forth the unquestioned ruler in all India." From that date prevention was regarded as better than punishment, guidance and correction prefer-

able to war or annexation. The main object in view was to preserve the native principalities from annexation; and, if the intervention of the British Authorities was needed to save a protected principality from ruin, then it was better to abandon the principle of non-interference...and so avoid more serious alterations in the map of India. These views prevailed, and the thoughts of statesmen turned from subordinate alliances to the best means of promoting a solid union between the territories of the Empire governed by the British and the States protected by His Majesty. A new set of engagements were concluded, which brought to light the common purpose of working hand in hand to extend railways, provide canals, and promote measures and works of public benefit.

The relations, which to-day subsist between the protected States and their protector, are the resultant of these three periods, and of these several ideas, namely, non-intervention, subordinate isolation, and union.

Lee-Warner: Native States, pages 43—45.

(b) ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS.

I.

“We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part.

“We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggressions upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own, as we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good Government.”

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

II.

“ My desire, since I succeeded to the Throne of my revered mother, the late Queen Victoria, the First Empress of India, has been to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration which secured for her in so wonderful a degree the veneration and affection of her Indian subjects. To all my Feudatories and Subjects throughout India I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire and the greater happiness of its people.”

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

III.

Queen Victoria, of revered memory, addressed Her Indian Subjects and the Heads of Feudatory States when she assumed the direct Government in 1858, and Her August Son, My Father, of honoured and beloved name, commemorated the same most notable event in His Address to you some fifty years later. These are the Charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial Rule, and by that spirit in all my time to come I will faithfully-abide.

HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

[*Letter to the Princes and People of India, 1910.*]

IV.

“The problems of the future must be faced in a spirit of co-operation and mutual trust.

“In my former Proclamation I repeated the assurance, given on many occasions by My Royal predecessors and Myself, My determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights, and dignities of the Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge remains inviolate and inviolable.

HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

(c) SPEECHES OF THE VICEROYS.

I.

I am a firm believer in the policy which has guaranteed the integrity, has ensured the succession, and has built up the fortunes of the Native States. So long as these views are held and I doubt if any of my successors will ever repudiate them—the Native States would find in the consciousness of their security a stimulus to energy and well-doing. If the Native States, however, are to accept this standard it is obvious that they must keep pace with the age. They cannot dawdle behind and act as a drag upon an inevitable progress. They are links in the chain of Imperial Administration. It would never do for the British links to be strong and the Native links to be weak, and *vice versa* . . . I, therefore, think . . . that a very clear and positive duty devolves upon them. It is not limited to the perpetuation of their Dynasties or the maintenance of their Raj. They must not rest content with keeping things going in their time. Their duty is one, not of passive accept-

ance of an established place in the Imperial system, but of active and vigorous co-operation in the discharge of its onerous responsibilities.

LORD CURZON.

[Speech at the Rajkot Durbar.]

II.

It is sometimes asked by the Ruling Chiefs, as well as by the public in India and in Europe, what our policy towards the Native States is. I can only tell you that the basis of the policy was laid down in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and repeated in the Coronation message of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Our policy is, with rare exceptions, one of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Native States. But in guaranteeing their internal independence and in undertaking their protection against external aggression it naturally follows that the Imperial Government has assumed a certain degree of responsibility for the general soundness of their administration and could not consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of misrule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole as well as those of the paramount Power such as railways, telegraphs, and other services of an Imperial character. But the relationship of the Supreme Government to the State is one of suzerainty.

LORD MINTO. [*Banquet Speech at Udaipur.*]

III.

Our policy towards them, at least during recent years, has been one of sympathy and trust, of sympathy with their aims and sentiments and their noble traditions, of trust in their fervent loyalty to the person of the King-Emperor and to the Power whose protection they enjoy. We have recognised that if a State is to be ruled justly and well, and to be the source of real help to the British Empire, it is only through the ruler himself, supported by his Sardars and people, that these results can be obtained. Irksome restrictions on the exercise of sovereign powers are apt to chafe and irritate a proud and sensitive spirit with results disastrous not only to the ruler and his people, but also to the Empire at large. We have, therefore, made it our own aim to cultivate close and friendly relations with the Ruling Princes, to show by every means that we trust them and look on them as before as colleagues in the greater task of Imperial rule, and so to foster in them a spirit of responsibility and pride in their work which no external supervision can produce.

LORD HARDINGE. [*Speech at the Investiture of
His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.*]

(d) GLEANINGS FROM BOOKS.

I.

The British Government has for many years past ceased to desire further extension of territory in India, and it is difficult to imagine circumstances under which the annexation of a Native State would now be considered expedient. The complete recognition of the right of adoption and the experience of the last quarter of a century have in this respect removed from the mind of the Native Princes all suspicion of the policy of our Government. There is only one apparent cause by which the political existence of any of these States could now be imperilled. We are far from desiring that their Government should necessarily be like ours, but as our own administration improves, and everything in India becomes increasingly open to the public criticism and inquiry, the more impossible will it be for us to tolerate gross oppression and misgovernment.

Strachey: India—Its Administration and Progress,

page 478.

II.

At all events, except for some heinous crime, no chief would be deprived of his authority until remonstrances addressed to him in such a way as not to impair his authority had given him opportunities of amendment. The mere absence of improvements and of the active, energetic style of administration which we often see in British districts is not, I think, a case for remonstrance. Sir John Malcolm long ago said that all dangers to our power in India are slight in comparison with that which is likely to ensue from our too zealous efforts to change the character of the inhabitants. I would not unreservedly endorse the remark, as I think there are other equal or greater dangers, but there is weight in it, and, to my humble judgment, it appears that one of the great advantages of the existence of more than 600,000 square miles of native territory is that in more than a third of the whole country progress, if not always and everywhere sure, is at least nowhere too rapid. I believe it is a good thing that about a fourth of the total population should proceed along the path of civilization at their own very easy pace. There

may, of course, be cases where the inertness of the central authority, and its callousness to the welfare of all except the army, the Court, and the priestly classes, may be gradually bringing about serious misgovernment.

On the whole, we may say that the obligation of occasional interference arises because it is the duty of the British Government to maintain the general peace of the country, and to give the inhabitants of Native States freedom from misrule. It follows that the best limit to British interposition is the effectual one of good government. Chiefs who govern well need not, I think, have any fear of interference prompted by officious zeal. The British Government has responsibilities upon it which are heavy enough without its seeking to add to them. Good administration, however, is not easy: it requires experience, capacity, constant hard work; for a Chief we must add, good and trustworthy advisers.

Tupper: Indian Protectorate, page 305.

III.

The policy of the British Government towards the States has changed from time to time, passing from the original plan of non-intervention in all matters beyond its own ring-fence to the policy of "subordinate isolation" initiated by Lord Hastings ; which in its turn gave way before the existing conception of the relation between the States and the Government of India, which may be described as one of union and co-operation on their part with the paramount Power. In spite of the varieties and complexities of treaties, engagements, and SANADS the general position as regards the rights and obligations of the Native States can be summed up in a few words. The States are guaranteed security from without ; the paramount Power acts for them in relation to foreign Powers and other States, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand, the States' relations to foreign Powers are those of the paramount Power :

they share the obligation for the common defence, and they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories.

Lee-Warner : Native States, pages ().

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA.

1. The nature of his sovereignty.
2. His duties and obligations.
3. His policy.

THE NATURE OF HIS SOVEREIGNTY.

DO the Chiefs exercise the rights of sovereign powers, or do they merely occupy a privileged position conceded to them by the King in Parliament? Are their territories part of the Dominions of Great Britain, or external to them? These are theoretical questions about which eminent authorities have agreed to differ. They are difficult because the relations of the Native States to the Crown have arisen in different ways, because the powers and liberties of the States differ very widely, because the British Government have never clearly defined the position, and because no exact guide is furnished by history or by any other country. Also we may say that the controversy is largely one of words and not of substance. It turns on what is meant by "sovereignty." Some authorities hold that "sovereignty" must be independent and unfettered, and is not divisible. Others assert that sovereignty can be shared by two

parties, and there is such a thing as "semi-sovereignty." If the first view is right, the Native Chiefs are not in the position of sovereign powers. If the second is right, it is permissible to regard them as "semi-sovereigns." The second view would seem to fit the facts better. The facts not in dispute are these. The British Government is unquestionably the paramount Power in India. All Native Chiefs acknowledge its supremacy and owe to it allegiance and loyalty. No Chief enjoys complete external and internal sovereignty. No Chief can declare war or peace, or can negotiate with any other Chief, much less with a foreign State. All Chiefs owe obedience to the paramount Power, and must accept the advice of the Resident or other authority representing it. Its decision has to be accepted as final. Disobedience pushed to extremes becomes rebellion and may lead to the Chief being deposed. The paramount Power determines all questions of succession to chiefships, and no succession is complete until sanctioned. It is both the right and the duty of the paramount Power to interfere to prevent oppression and gross misrule and to

take such steps as may be necessary to that end. The paramount Power is the source of honours : it regulates precedence, fixes salutes, grants titles and dignities. Lastly, the principles of international law do not apply to its relations with the States.

The Native Princes, on the other hand, or the more considerable of them, exercise powers that are usually regarded as sovereign.

They make the laws of their own States, they appoint the Judges and the Executive Officers, they levy taxes, they inflict punishments on their subjects. They and their subjects are not under the jurisdiction of the Courts of British India, nor do the laws of British India run in their territories.

It seems consistent with these mutual relations to regard the Native Princes as in a position of semi-sovereignty, and this view finds support in the utterances of Parliament and of the Crown and in the treaties in which the present union originated.

*Holderness : People and Problems of India, pages
194—196.*

HIS DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS.

WHAT are the duties and obligations which the States of India owe for the right of protection and partnership which they have received ? Page 189.

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(These) may be considered under five heads :—

1. Obligations for the common defence.
2. Obligations in regard to external relations.
3. Obligations affecting internal administration.
4. Duties of loyalty to the Crown.
5. Certain jurisdictional engagements.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 216.

(a) OBLIGATION FOR THE COMMON
DEFENCE.

1. Nature of the obligations.
2. Strength of Native State armies.
3. System of recruitment.
4. Fortifications and equipment.
5. Assistance in procuring supplies.
6. Extradition of deserters.
7. Cessation of control over communications.

Nature of the Obligations.

THERE is nothing unfair in holding that, in the event of war, all the States of India are under an obligation to "furnish troops according to their means at the requisition of the British Government," as the treaties negotiated by Lord Hastings expressed it, and at all times to render such assistance to the Imperial army as may be necessary. Page 217.

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It is, indeed, an essential duty, correlated to the right of protection, that the protected State should co-operate to the full measure of its resources in repelling a common enemy.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 236.

STRENGTH OF THE NATIVE STATE ARMIES.

THE armies of the Native States must not exceed in time of peace what is required for the maintenance of the reasonable dignity of the Chief, the enforcement of internal order, and the requirements of the special engagements which they have entered into with the British Government.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 240.

FORTIFICATIONS AND EQUIPMENTS.

THE right of the Supreme Government in India to issue directions regarding fortifications and material of war is naturally correlated to the duty of protection which the British owe to the dependent States, and it results from the surrender by the Indian Chiefs of their rights to make war. Page 242.

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Arms of precision and an accumulation of cannon are required neither for internal safety nor for the exigencies of common defence. Only arms of a suitable kind, and in such quantities as, in the opinion of the British Agent, are really needed, are supplied.

Le-Warner : Native States, page 243.

System of Recruitment.

IN regard to the system of recruitment it appears that no system of passing the population generally through the rank is permitted, and that recruitment is to be confined to the population of the States themselves.

Lee- Warner : Native States, page 240.

Assistance in Procuring Supplies.

SUPPLIES, specially forage for horses and transport animals, cannot always be carried, and the force which occupies a cantonment or position in foreign territory cannot be kept in an efficient state without relying on the co-operation of the ruler of that country. Page 247.

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The general obligation is "to give every facility for the provision of supplies and articles required for the troops," whether in cantonment or in the line of march, and to levy no taxes on them without the consent of the British Government.

Lee- Warner : Native States, page 248.

Extradition of Deserters.

THE obligation of the Native Princes to surrender their own subjects deserting from the British Army is a duty which they owe to themselves, as being directly concerned in the efficiency of the force maintained for their common defence, page 248.

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Long established custom has vested in the paramount power the right to claim the extradition of its military deserters from any Native State.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 248.

Cessation of Control over Communication.

THE exclusive right of the British Government to maintain and manage all lines of telegraph or telephone which take public messages has been repeatedly affirmed. Its consent is required before private lines are constructed in the Native States, in order that the Imperial monopoly may be preserved before such lines are set up. In regard to railways which are not isolated in a Native State, and which form part of the Imperial system of railway, or part of a continuous line of such system, the cessation of jurisdiction is invariably required.

Lee-Warner: Native States, pages 251—252.

(b)—OBLIGATIONS IN EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

1. Nature of the obligations.
2. Cessation of jurisdiction over Native State subjects abroad.
3. Assisting the Imperial policy in Native States.
4. Allowing jurisdiction over Europeans and Americans in Native States.
5. Extraditing foreign fugitive offenders.
6. Co-operation in war.
7. Relations with other Indian States.

Nature of the Obligations.

THE sovereigns of the principalities enclosed within the frontiers of the Empire do not exercise individually any independent action in negotiations either with foreign powers or with each other. Page 254.

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The Rulers of the Native States in the interior of India have not a shred, or semblance of contractual authority left to them. They cannot enter into a treaty of extradition with their neighbours without the intervention of the British ; they cannot receive diplomatic agents ; they are even unable to allow Europeans or Americans to enter their service without the consent of the paramount power ; they have no direct intercourse with the consular agents, representatives of foreign nations accredited to the Government of India ; and they cannot receive from foreign sovereigns Decorations or Orders except under the regulations prescribed for British subjects. They have in short, no official relations with

other protected States of India; and even where the interests of two or more of them are identical upon any particular question, their representations to the supreme Government would be conveyed in separate memorials and not in a joint petition. The sole representative of the Native States in their intercourse with foreign nations, or with each other, is the British Government. Pages 255-56.

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For all international purposes, the whole Empire, including the protected States united to it, must be regarded as one Nation represented by the British Government.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 259.

Cessation of jurisdiction over Native State subjects Abroad.

THE protected Princes of India enjoy the benefits secured, and must accept the liabilities incurred by the diplomatic action of the Crown. Page 260.

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The position, therefore, is this, that in foreign countries where an offence is committed, ...the subjects of the Native States become liable together with British subjects to the consular Courts established for the trial of such offences.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 261.

Assisting the Imperial Policy in Native States.

THE Native States, by parting with their rights of negotiation, have not only conceded to the British Government the right to protect and govern their subjects when resident or found abroad, but have also obliged themselves, within the area of their own jurisdiction, to assist the Imperial policy, and to give practical effect to the engagements which the British Government enters into with foreign powers in its capacity of international representative of the United Empire of India. Page 263.

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It rests entirely with the Crown to receive in India the accredited agents of Foreign Governments, and to annex to their reception such conditions as it thinks fit. The Consular agents of Foreign Governments have no direct communication with the rulers of the protected States, and if such agents require

from the Native sovereigns any assistance or satisfaction, they must address themselves to the British Government which has exclusive charge of the foreign relations of every Native State. Pages 265 & 266.

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If they enjoy the fruits of the diplomatic action of the King's Government, they must share the liabilities and obligations which flow through the central power from the friendly intercourse of nations. Three instances of such obligations may be given, effecting respectively the treatment of foreigners in their principalities, the surrender of fugitive criminals, and recruitment in time of war. These duties are samples of those which flow from the source of international engagement, and must not be regarded as an exhaustive list ; for it is obvious that in this respect the account of the price which the protected princes pay for the union cannot be closed so long as their rights of negotiation are being continually exercised for them by the Supreme Power.

Lee-Warner : Native States, pages 266 & 267.

Allowing Jurisdiction over Europeans and Americans in Native States.

THE duty which a nation or independent State, owes to its own subjects extends to their protection in foreign countries; and European nations have long recognised the obligation to see that their subjects are not deprived of life or liberty outside their territorial jurisdiction, except by due and proper process of law. Christian States attach to certain principles of their legal systems so paramount an importance that they are unable to regard a departure from them as a "due and proper process".

Accordingly, the civilised powers of Europe have asserted against various non-Christians countries a right to try or punish their own subjects resorting to such countries according to the spirit of the society and jurisprudence to which they are accustomed.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 267.

Extraditing Foreign Fugitive Offenders.

THE British Government frequently has occasion to procure the extradition by the Native Chiefs of suspected offenders who have broken British laws. As charged with the foreign relations of each State in India, it may also be required to procure for one State the extradition of its fugitive offenders from another State in which they have sought an asylum ; or having entered into an engagement with foreign nations it may be called upon to perform a like service on the requisition of such nations.

‡ *Lee-Warner: Native States, page 272.*

Co-operation in War.

IF the Native States must perform their share of Imperial duties in time of peace they must equally render co-operation during the stress of hostilities. When the paramount power which represents them in foreign relations, is neutral in time of war, its obligations of neutrality necessarily affect the States of India, which must not supply arms, ammunition, or recruits to either of the belligerents.

Lee-Warner : Native States. page 272.

Relation with other States.

THE Government of India also represents the States in their intercourse with each other, in interstatal as well as in international transactions. The States are isolated in regard to their neighbours as completely as they are in regard to foreign nations. They cannot declare war on each other nor can they make treaties with each other or negotiate exchanges of territory. Pages. 273 & 274.

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If then serious differences arise between two Indian States, it is their duty to convey the earliest intimation of the facts to the supreme Government in order that it may effect a settlement. This obligation is expressed in their engagements in the case of those States whose policy has been most aggressive, but it is a duty which devolves upon all, irrespectively of treaty, by reason of their relations with the British Government.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 274.

(c.)—OBLIGATIONS IN INTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

1. Intervention in Internal affairs.
2. Intervention in the interests of British Dominion.
3. Intervention to prevent dismemberment.
4. Intervention to prevent acquisition of land in British India.
5. Intervention to suppress rebellion.
6. Intervention to check gross misrule.
7. Intervention to suppress inhuman practices.
8. Intervention to secure religious toleration.
9. Intervention to enforce British interests.

Intervention in Internal Affairs.

WHATEVER single expressions and clauses may be extracted from Indian treaties in favour of the absolute right of the protected sovereigns to govern as they please, the treaties themselves, and the parties who signed or ratified them, have persistently upheld the view, that under certain well-understood but defined conditions the British Government has a right of interference.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 290.

Intervention in the interests of the British Dominion.

ALTHOUGH the British Government is a partner with the Native States in India, it is master of its own house in British India ; and as such, it has interests of its own which it would be justified in securing by agreement or otherwise from its neighbours . . .

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 284.

Intervention to prevent Dismemberment.

THE British Government has repeatedly stepped in with authority to save the Native States from the evil consequences of dismemberment. Accordingly, no ruling chief is permitted to bequeath his sovereignty, or any part of it, as he pleases ; nor is he permitted to encumber his State with injurious legacies. Page 292.

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It is necessary to keep the State compact and capable of supporting the cost of their administration.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 298.

Intervention to prevent acquisition of land in British India.

SOME restrictions upon the acquisition of lands, as well as upon their alienation, are imposed upon the chiefs of India. In so far as such fresh lands are sought at the expense of other Native States they are governed by the principles already explained, since rulers of States cannot part with the public property. But where ruling chiefs seek to acquire property by purchase in British territory, the danger is apprehended that the chief by such acquisition will place himself under British jurisdiction, and so subject himself to complications which may prejudice his rights and privileges as a foreign sovereign.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 296.

Intervention to suppress rebellion.

THE British Government will not lightly interfere where the rebellion can be suppressed by the responsible local authorities . . . (But) if the Chief felt incapable of performing that duty, and if public disturbances were threatened, and the incapacity of the State to suppress them was demonstrated, then interference would be regarded as a duty.

It is now a generally accepted principle that if the protecting power steps in, it must do so on its own terms. The first condition annexed to interference for the maintenance of order is the request of the State for aid, supported by proof of the need for such intervention ; or, where there is evidence that the Native State cannot deal with the disorder, the British Government will interfere of its own motion. The second condition is . . . that the British arbitration or aid, when once invoked or granted, must be accepted by the Ruling Chief without condition or limitation . .

Several instances have occurred in India which have established the principle that, in the event of rebellion against the authority of a Native sovereign, the British Government will interfere when the local authority has failed, or is unable, to restore order, provided that its intervention is accepted as authoritative, or final. Should it appear that the rebellion is justified by good cause, the measures taken will be as gentle as may be consistent with the re-establishment of order, whilst the necessary reforms will be introduced, even if they involve the deposition of the Chief.

Lee-Warner : Native States, pages 299—302.

Intervention to check gross misrule.

THE right of intervention is not confined to the case of open rebellion or public disturbance. The subjects of the Native States are sometimes ready to endure gross oppression without calling attention to the fact by recourse to such violent measures. Where there is gross misrule, the right, or the duty, of interference arises, notwithstanding any pledges of unconcern or "absolute rule" which treaties may contain... Their intervention, when called for and granted in consequence of misrule, has only been accorded where the circumstances were exceptionally grave, and misgovernment both long continued and gross. In most instances repeated warnings have been given, and in some cases a definite period for amendment was first allowed before the ruler's authority was set aside.

Lee-Warner : Native States, pages 302—303.

Intervention to suppress Inhuman Practices.

IN the course of the nineteenth century more than one chief was deposed by the British Government for the commission of barbarous acts, and several Sanads issued by Viceroys of India testified to the continued necessity for guarding against any relapse to inhuman practices.

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A recital of the offences which provoked its departure from the rule of non-interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign States will sufficiently explain its action. One chief ordered a subject, convicted of theft, to suffer the penalty of having his hand and foot chopped off. The second directed the mutilation of a slave by cutting off his nose and ears. A third had two jailors flogged to death. A fourth committed an outrage of too shocking and disgusting a character to bear repetition. The fifth ordered a "barbarous and inhuman" sentence of impalement

to be carried out ; and the sixth, publicly tortured a subject. These instances tell their own tale, and explain why it is incumbent on the British Government, which upholds the Native States, to reserve to itself a right of interference to check or punish inhuman practices.

Lce-Warner : Native States, pages 303-306.

Intervention to secure religious toleration.

THE obligation to secure religious toleration is accepted not solely in consequence of the solidarity of religious feelings throughout the Empire, but also in the interests of the States themselves. When it is borne in mind that the British Government owes it to its own subjects to secure for them religious tolerance from Foreign potentates, its duty in India is enhanced by the subordinate relations which subsist between the Government of India and its protected allies.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 306.

Intervention to enforce British Interests.

THE right which a German or an American can expect his own Government to secure for him, of a fair and proper trial cannot be denied to British subjects. Accordingly, jurisdiction is exercised over them within the Native States by British Officers . . . Pages 309-310.

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Another British interest (that) has given rise to intervention in the internal administration of the Native States (is) the regulation of coinage.

The British Government has laid down rules, that Native State mints must be established and worked only at the capital of the State under proper control and supervision by the ruler of the State whose coinage must be limited to the requirements of his own territories, and of those of his subordinate Chiefs. Where mints have fallen into disuse, they are not to be revived. Pages 310-311.

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The union of the whole empire has been consolidated in recent years by numerous engagements with the chiefs for the removal of injurious restrictions on trade . . . But these reforms are effected by agreement, and are not introduced by the assertion of Imperial authority except where the British Government acquired special rights in the matter, or where the circumstances have called for exceptional intervention. Pages 311-312.

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Extradition is demanded in certain cases from Native States when a reciprocal surrender cannot be conceded. The recognition of the judicial acts of the Native States cannot be guaranteed or enforced against other States so long as their systems of administration remain as imperfect as they are. Yet, where the ends of justice require the attendance of parties before British Courts, the States united to the Indian Empire may be expected to render ready co-operation.

Lee. Warner: Native States, page 312.

(d)—OBLIGATIONS DERIVED FROM THE
ROYAL PREROGATIVE.

1. The Crown.
2. Prerogative to settle precedence and grant honours.
3. Prerogative to settle conditions of acceptance of foreign orders.
4. Prerogative to recognise succession.
5. Prerogative to charge Nazrana.
6. Prerogative to accredit Agents.
7. Prerogative to deal with Minor Chiefs and their States.
8. Prerogative to demand loyalty from the Princes.

The Crown.

IN every political constitution there are certain public acts which are incomplete without the formal exercise of the authority, or attributes vested by it in its recognised Head or representative. The bestowal of favours, or the grant of powers, by the supreme Head of the community carries with it certain obligations. The Crown is the fountain of Honour, and those who accept its decorations or privileges owe, and admit their liability for something in return. The sovereign alone receives or accredits ministers and agents,... The admission of a new Chief into the family of sovereigns in subordinate alliance with His Majesty, however, regular the succession may be, is not complete without the formal recognition of His Majesty's Viceroy; and the chief so recognised owes allegiance to the authority which recognises and upholds him.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 316.

Prerogative to settle precedence and grant honours.

THE first of these obligations arises from the prerogative of the Crown to grant honours and decorations, and to settle precedence. From the fact that the King-Emperor of India exercises his power two obligations follow: first that the Viceroy's decision as to relative rank is authoritative; and, secondly, that no honours can be received from other sources without His Majesty's sanction.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 318.

Prerogative to settle conditions of acceptance of foreign orders.

SINCE the sovereign grants honours, salutes, and titles, whether personal or official, it is also the prerogative of the Crown to settle the conditions under which they may be accepted from foreign sovereigns.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 322.

Prerogative to charge Nazrana.

UNDER present policy, no succession duties are charged in the case of direct successions or adoptions duly made by Ruling Chiefs. In other cases of collateral successions, and where the State is not especially exempted for poverty or other good reason, a light duty is charged on its net revenue after deduction of any tribute which the State may have to pay under its treaties.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 331.

Prerogative to accredit Agents.

IT is the prerogative of the Sovereign to receive representatives of, or to accredit his own to other Nations and States, and to annex to their recognition such conditions as are required. Page 331.

The channel of communication between the ruling princes and the outside world for all official purposes is through the Agents or Residents placed at their Courts by the Government of India. These representatives of the Government have various duties assigned to them by British Law, as well as by treaties with the States, or in the absence of treaties by established usage. In the earliest days of political intercourse, when a few favoured States were admitted into the Company's alliance, arrangements were made for the mutual appointment of agents. But with the introduction of the extended policy of subordinate isolation, and with the surrender by the protected allies of their rights of war and of negotiation, the maintenance of the

Company's agents at the Courts of the Indian Sovereigns entered on a new phase. Some States were required to pay the cost, or a part of the cost, of the agency establishment from which under the altered conditions they received material services of protection and advice. In course of time Parliament and the Indian Legislature attached to the Political Agents special jurisdiction over British subjects in foreign territory. The Governor-General in Council charged them with the exercise of other jurisdictions delegated to the Government of India by the Native sovereigns, as railway lands or civil stations....Here it is only necessary to refer to these matters in order to indicate the extensive area of duties and functions imposed on the Political Officers attached to the protected States. For the discharge of their duties they require not merely the privileges of extraterritoriality and the immunities that attach to foreign representatives and their servants in foreign territory, but also the active assistance of the sovereigns whose interests are protected by the British Government. No treaty engagement is needed to support this obligation.

Without its representatives on the spot the Government of India could not perform its proper duties to the Native States. Occupying the position of internal representative or of arbiter in interstatal disputes, charged with the defence of the Empire and the protection of the Chiefs against causeless rebellion, called upon to decide on the spur of the moment questions of succession, and in rare cases required to take a more active part in the internal administration, the supreme Government must station its officers wherever the need arises for their presence or their intervention....The duty which a Native Prince owes to the British Agent at his Court (is) thus traced to its source, the royal prerogative.

Lee-Warner: Native States, pages 332—334.

Prerogative to deal with minor chiefs and their States.

TO the same source may be attributed the right of the British Government to take charge of States when, owing to the death or removal of a Ruler, a fresh succession has not been recognised or the successor duly recognised is unable from minority or other cause to undertake the responsibilities of his high position. Similar in source and nature is the obligation repeatedly and publicly affirmed "to see that a minor chief is so educated as to befit him to manage his State." The Civil Law imposes a special obligation on Government for the protection of minors and for their education.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 334.

Prerogative to demand loyalty from the Princes.

THERE are other obligations that flow from the direct relations in which His Majesty the King-Emperor stands to the protected chiefs of India, and which are embraced in the condition of loyalty to the Crown attached to the Sanads of adoption. The Criminal Law of British India recognises the offence of "waging war upon the king"; and although the princes of India are not subject to the regular jurisdiction of the British Courts, they have been taught by many examples that resistance to the Royal authority constitutes an act of rebellion.

Lee-Warner : Native States, pages 334—335.

(e)—BRITISH JURISDICTION IN THE
NATIVE STATES.

IN every State in the interior of India, the British Government exercises personal jurisdiction over British subjects, as well as extra-territorial jurisdiction over all persons and things within its cantonments situated in foreign territory. Page 337.

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(This jurisdiction may be)

- (1) Delegated.
- (2) Residuary or
- (3) Substituted.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 340.

DELEGATED JURISDICTION.

THE word, delegation, is meant to convey the idea of consent expressed by agreement or resting on sufferance. Page 340.

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Instances of delegated jurisdiction.

- (a) Cantonment jurisdiction.
- (b) Railway jurisdiction.
- (c) Jurisdiction over Civil Stations.
- (d) Residency jurisdiction.
- (e) Personal jurisdiction over Europeans.

Lee-Warner: Native States, pages 341-42.

(a)—CANTONMENT JURISDICTION.

THE British Government has the absolute right of occupying any military positions it deems fit in any of the protected states.. It has received the authority of its allies to protect them, and it may, in consequence of this delegation and without further reference to them, establish its cantonments in their principalities. It is essential to the efficiency and safety of the army so cantoned that it should be placed exclusively under British jurisdiction.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 360.

(b)—RAILWAY JURISDICTION.

There must be one law affecting the administration and the working of a line of railway throughout its whole length. The very safety of the passengers requires uniform precautions against any neglect of duty. The vehicles must be safe, the line and its bridges looked after, and the various details of the traffic department regulated by one common law. The railway police employed on the several parts of the line must work together . . . If the police were hampered in their duties by extradition and by the constant necessity for adjusting their procedure to the requirement of a new law at each station, the protection of the lives and property of the passengers would be compromised. The interests of the public require through booking of goods and passengers, and with divided jurisdictions the responsibility for loss or injury could never be fixed.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 362.

(c)—JURISDICTION OVER CIVIL
STATIONS.

British jurisdiction is occasionally required over particular places or sites in foreign territory, either because they form the headworks of Imperial canals, or because they are centres of British trade or of the influx of European residents. The main motive for acquiring jurisdiction is the avoidance of entangling disputes with the officials of the Native State which might terminate in more serious intervention.

Lee-Warner: Native States, page 364.

(d)—RESIDENCY JURISDICTION.

The house and premises occupied by the British Resident or agent appointed to the charge of British relations with one or more Native States are like a British cantonment, occupied at the same time by the law of the nation which deposes its representative. The consent of every Native State to the appointment of British agent, together with the rights and privileges that must accompany him, is assumed as a matter of course. Possessing no rights of negotiation or legation, a protected sovereign in India has no option in the matter of receiving an agent. He is bound to accept any officer appointed and to treat him with due respect.

Lee-Warner : Native States, pages 365—366.

(e) PERSONAL JURISDICTION OVER
EUROPEANS.

BRITISH Indian Courts deal with offences committed by Europeans in Native States, while Indian British subjects are handed over to the courts of the Protected Princes in whose territories they have offended. Page 368.

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The time has not yet arrived when the extra-territorial jurisdiction of the King can safely be dispensed with. Indeed in every Native State provision is made for it by the appointment of a justice of the Peace for that State . . . With the Indian subjects of the King the case is different. Their own social system prevails on each side of the line that separates British India from the Native State. Under the supervision of the Political Agent the courts of the State may be trusted to do justice to their claims and rights, and if for any reason they should fail to do so, extradition would be refused and a remedy devised.

Lee-Warner: Native States, pages 368—369.

Residuary Jurisdiction.

THE word, residuary, is intended to carry the mind to the defects in the sovereignty of the protected rulers, who from a remote past have shared the attributes of internal sovereignty with a superior power exercising jurisdiction in certain defined and well-established cases. Page 340.

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Residuary jurisdiction is either a deprivation imposed by engagement upon the Native States affected by it, or a drawback from the attributes of sovereignty which were recognised as vesting in the state on its first introduction into protectorate.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 375.

Substituted Jurisdiction.

THE word, substituted, is used for lack of a better term to describe the setting aside of the jurisdictional powers of a chief when such powers are neither delegated nor vested by usage in the paramount power, but taken out of the chief's hands and exercised for him by the will of a stronger power. Page 340.

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When the British authorities depose a Native ruler for gross misgovernment, or exercise the royal prerogative of guardianship of a minor chief, the intervention is avowedly temporary and rests entirely on an act of State. Page 380.....

The British Government and its officers are charged with the temporary administration of the law and the management of the State.

Lee-Warner : Native States, page 382.

HIS POLICY.

- (a) In general.
- (b) As regards the relations of the Native State with other States.
- (c) As regards the relations of the Native State with Foreign Powers.
- (d) As regards the relations of the Native State with the British Government.
 - (1) Generally.
 - (2) With respect to advice of the British Government.
 - (3) With respect to interference of the British Government in internal administration.

His (Maharajas') Policy.

(a) IN GENERAL.

THE Native Prince should show a cordial appreciation of the great benefits which India in general, and the Native States in particular, undoubtedly enjoy under British supremacy.

The Native Prince may when any differences arise with the British Government, respectfully argue with that Government, on the grounds of reason, justice and morality. It is in this peaceful manner and in this manner only, that the Native Prince can defend his rights, honour and privileges and the interests of his subjects. He must appeal to those principles of reason, justice and morality by which the Government has repeatedly declared itself bound.

He should conciliate the British Government, which . . . it is not difficult or costly to do. The best means of conciliating the British Government in these days is for the Native Prince to govern his own State well, and also

to see that his arrangements are not in such conflict with those of the British Government as to be a source of constant irritation or annoyance to the British Government. Pages 263-264.

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The Princes are expected to observe the treaties and engagements in the most scrupulous manner. This is obviously most right and proper. The princes should, therefore, make themselves thoroughly, minutely and accurately acquainted with the treaties and engagements, carefully note everything which they require to be done or require not to be done and scrupulously act accordingly. The Princes should be more careful not to give reason or even the appearance of reason, to the British Government to say, "You have not observed the treaties and engagements, you cannot therefore expect us to observe them." Page 271.

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Of course, the British Government should not, and would not, exercise any such interference unless there was occasion calling for the same. It follows that if the Native State

conducts its affairs with due care and wisdom, it may mostly, perhaps altogether, avoid giving occasion for the interference of the British Government.

Such being the case, it becomes worth while to see more in detail how the Native State may avoid occasion for the active interference of the British Government.

Minor Hints : pages 278—279.

(b) AS REGARDS THE RELATIONS
OF THE NATIVE STATE WITH OTHER
STATE.

(I)N your dealings with a brother Prince) always treat (him) with the courtesy and marks of honour due to him. He should have no reason to complain to British Authorities in this respect.

In every communication which may have to be addressed regarding any Chief, or his important Officers, or their action, give them fully their recognised titles, and use courteous language. Abstain from imputing to them any bad motives. Abstain from violently criticising their action. In short, abstain from everything offensive or disrespectful.

Render hearty Police assistance to every other State (especially neighbouring States) in the detection and apprehension of its offenders and in the tracing out of the stolen property, and also in surrendering the offenders and the stolen property.

In matters of civil and criminal justice, and also in those of general trade, treat the subjects of every Native State quite like your

own subjects. I mean that no unfavourable distinction should be made in regard to them.

Avoid boundary disputes to the utmost extent possible by the necessary precautions. If, however, any occur, earnestly prevent breaches of the peace of every sort, and refer the dispute to the proper authorities for their investigation and decision.

When a boundary dispute has been demarcated by permanent pillars, see that these pillars are scrupulously preserved.

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In the construction of roads and bridges affecting the interest of both (Your) territories (and those of another Prince) render due co-operation. In short, respect the rights, honour and dignity of every Chief as your own.

By steadily acting on these principles, we shall avoid giving occasion to the British Government to interfere with us.

These principles almost equally apply to the relations of the State with its neighbouring British Districts and British Officers.

(o) AS REGARDS THE RELATIONS
OF THE NATIVE STATE WITH
FOREIGN POWERS.

IT is to be remembered that in consequence of the facilities afforded by steam communication, the subjects of various European and American States travel abroad very much and may be, now and then, met with in the territories of the Native State—I mean the subjects of England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, the American Union, etc., etc., etc. For the purpose of brevity I will call all of them, “Europeans”, which I may do as they all belong to the European race. It is to be also remembered that whatever the European may be, the Government to which he belongs exercises a certain degree of protection over him. It will not allow him to be subjected to any gross violence or injustice anywhere, much less in a Native State. It follows that we must be very careful as regards any European in our territories.

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If a European stranger appears and seeks an interview with the Maharaja, His Highness should see him only if he has brought a proper

introduction. He can always bring an introductory note from the British Resident. If the European stranger has brought no proper introduction, His Highness had better refer him to the Residency.

If any European gentleman comes here properly introduced, show him all due courtesy and consideration.

European strangers are prone to commit errors or give offence in Native States from ignorance of native habits and feelings. Be indulgent to them in this respect. For instance, a European may enter a Native temple which he ought not to enter. He may shoot a peacock where such proceeding is highly offensive. He may be found fishing at some ghaut held sacred by the native community, and so forth. In such cases no attempt should be made to punish him. Give him a gentle warning and this will generally suffice, if not, move the British Resident.

Europeans have a great aversion to their baggage being searched for contraband or dutiable articles. They have a great aversion also to being detained by Custom's officers. Therefore as much as possible interdict such

searches and detentions in ordinary cases. Where merchants and goods for trade are concerned, they must, of course, submit to the ordinary rules.

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Have little or no pecuniary dealings with Europeans such as lending or borrowing. This however, does not apply to purchasing British Government securities or keeping a current account with a Bank.

Take precautions that European travellers are not robbed in (your) territories.

See that no European suffers any personal ill-treatment in (your) territories at the hands of the people. If unfortunately a European happens to have suffered such, promptly and fully punish the offenders ...

In cases of small offences by British European Officers, such as beating or otherwise ill-treating our people, forcibly taking supplies from them, behaving disrespectfully to our authorities, etc., etc., represent the matter correctly and calmly to the British Resident who will readily bring about a departmental disposal of the matter. The European Officer

concerned will probably be transferred or degraded, or otherwise made to suffer for his misbehaviour.

If any European seeks any kind of redress, in these territories, whether criminal, civil, or political, promptly attend to his complaint and grant such redress as he may be justly entitled to.

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It is within the range of possibility, that in certain circumstances or contingencies, secret emissaries from European countries, hostilely or adversely disposed towards the British Government, may come here to incite disaffection towards that Government. Be very much on your guard about such emissaries. Do not fail to inform the British Resident of everything you come to know of them.

Minor Hints : pages 281—286

(d) AS REGARDS THE RELATIONS OF
THE STATE WITH THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT.

(1) GENERALLY.

THE State is bound to be friendly and loyal
to the British Government.

* * * *

The friends and enemies of either Govern-
ment, shall be the friends and enemies of
both.

* * * *

The State is bound to abstain from commit-
ting any act of hostility or aggression against
any Power whatever. In other words, it is
bound to abstain from the use of force against
any State in any shape. If any differences
arise between this State and any other, such
differences should be referred to the British
Government which will adjust the matter in a
just manner in communication with His High-
ness' Government. The British Government
should be looked to enforce settlements in
such matters.

* * * *

All boundary disputes...indeed, all disputes
generally between this State and any other—

(should be) brought to the notice of the British Government, who (would) give decisions with every desire to do impartial justice.

* * * *

The mutual extradition of criminals is generally provided for by Treaty, and has been placed on a sound footing. Principles and rules have been agreed upon, which work very beneficially...It is of the utmost importance to adhere to these arrangements and to work them faithfully and vigorously.

With respect to advice of the British Government.

(2)

IF by treaty (His Highness) is bound to listen to the advice of the British Government respecting the welfare of (his) subjects (he should always) keep in view this important provision.

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It is necessary here to draw a clear distinction between the advice of the British Government itself on the one hand, and the advice of authorities subordinate to that Government on the other. The advice of the British Government is the advice of the Viceroy in Council, whereas the other advice is that of local subordinate British authorities locally doing business. The Treaty obligation to listen to advice applies to the former advice, and not to the latter.

I am very far from saying that His Highness should not listen to the latter advice. The advice coming from local subordinate

British authorities may often be very valuable and deserving of cordial acceptance by His Highness. But this advice is not that which His Highness is bound by Treaty to listen to. What His Highness is bound to listen to is the advice of the British Government itself as represented by the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council.

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The advice which may be given as aforesaid should, by the terms of the Treaty and from natural reason, be for the good of the State ; in other words, for the good of the Ruler, or of the people.

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It is conceivable, however, that instances may occur, though rarely, in which the Government of India indeed believes that the advice is for the good of the State, whereas His Highness differs from this belief. In such instances, it is permissible for His Highness to explain his own views, and endeavour to satisfy the Government of India of their correctness. In short, in doubtful cases, respectful

discussion is allowable within reasonable limits. It is a priceless blessing that the British Government is pre-eminently amenable to fair and temperate reasoning.

After discussion, whatever advice the Government of India may judge fit to give should, as a rule, be readily accepted under the obligation of the Treaty. I say, as a rule, because there may possibly be cases in which the gravity of the question may require a reference to His Majesty's Secretary of State.

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It may also be reasonably expected that any advice which the British Government may give under the Treaty will generally be limited to large objects to be effected or to large principles to be adopted, and that the advice will not descend into details calculated needlessly to hamper the action of the Native State.

The manner in which the British Government will give advice under the Treaty will, of course, be courteous, kind and friendly as far as may be possible in the circumstances. At

any rate, it should be as little harsh, and as little calculated to weaken the authority of the Native Ruler, as may be possible.

There is one guiding principle which it may be well for His Highness the Maharaja to bear in his memory. It is a sort of key to the prevailing disposition and action of the British Government. Whenever it is possible to reconcile both, the British Government will be equally mindful of the interests of the Maharaja as a Ruler, and of those of his people as his subjects. But when these two interests are materially in conflict, the British Government will generally lean to the interests of the people.

Minor Hints : pages 292—310.

With respect to interference of the British Government in Internal Administration.

(3)

IT is the right of the Maharaja to ask for, and it is the obligation of the British Government to give, the aid of British troops in putting down any great popular disturbance in His Highness's territories. This arrangement affords to the Native Ruler a strength and security unknown in former times.

* * * *

It necessarily follows, then, that the obligation of the British Government to assist the Ruler of the Native State in putting down internal disorder and disturbance carries with it the right to prevent or remedy gross mal-administration by that Ruler.

In connection with the subject under advertence—in order to obviate the necessity of interference by the British Government in the internal administration of the State with the view of preventing or remedying mal-administration—the great point for the Native Ruler

is to abstain from giving cause for his people to rise against him or to complain of gross mal-administration. He cannot be too careful in this respect.

Let him see that taxation is moderate ; make life, person and property secure ; maintain a good police backed by an efficient though small military force ; and the result will be that the great body of his people will be fairly contented and will seldom rise against him....

Do not interfere with the religion of the people, or any section of the people ; for the religion concerns the strong feelings of large numbers.

For the same reason, do not suddenly increase any tax.

For the same reason, do not suddenly change any long existing and popular custom.

Do not suddenly deprive large numbers of people of any privilege or any indulgence they have long enjoyed.

Do not suddenly impose any unusual restrictions on large numbers of people.

Do not suddenly order any such extensive Municipal Improvements as would entail the destruction of great numbers of houses.

Do not take any step which would suddenly spread discontent through the troops.

Even in dealing with criminal offences in which large numbers are concerned—for instance, whole villages—do not attempt to bring every one to punishment. It would often suffice to limit action to the leaders.

Such classes of the people as the Bheels, Waghirs, Girassias, Thakors, etc., are generally ignorant and impulsive and are known to be actuated by a common spirit. Do not give cause for a common excitement among any of these classes.

In short, abstain to the utmost extent possible from all such action as is likely to cause great dissatisfaction in large numbers at the same time.

While the Native State thus pursues a just, mild, and considerate policy, it should present a firm front to unprincipled and factious promoters of popular disaffection. There still are persons of this sort. During (the Regency)

Administration, they have found it necessary to be quiet. After His Highness (had) assumed power .., those persons may possibly try their old tricks. They should be closely watched. If any of them commit any mischief, they should be apprehended and brought to condign punishment in due course of law. The Maharaja's view and determination in this respect may be made sufficiently manifest in various little ways on the principle that "prevention is better than cure".

Minor Hints: pages 286—291.

CONCLUSION.

1. Reputation.
2. Responsibility.
3. Wishes, I, II.

Reputation.

THE Maharaja should not be in hurry to become famous. Fame, as a good and benevolent Ruler, is indeed a legitimate and laudable object of a Ruler's ambition. Nothing is more gratifying in this world to noble natures than being recognized as the benefactors of communities. But such fame requires time to achieve. It is the reward of long years of the purest intentions, of the highest disinterestedness, of patient and careful study, and of sustained and arduous exertions for the public good.

The best advice, therefore, is : Do good steadily, constantly and unostentatiously ; thus deserve fame, and leave it to come when it will ; come it will in the end.

Minor Hints : pages 45 and 46

Responsibility.

THE position of the Maharaja in these days is not one of abundant ease and unlimited enjoyment, it is not one in which he is at liberty to spend what public money he likes and in what manner he pleases, it is not one in which power can be exercised without salutary constitutional restraint, it is not one in which the will of His Highness is the law. In these days a fierce light beats on the throne. It is a light which exposes every defect to the public gaze. It is a light which immensely increases the responsibilities of Rulers.

The Maharaja is responsible in various directions in regard to all his actions. He is responsible to God, and his own conscience. He is responsible to established principles. He is responsible to his people. He is responsible to British Government. He is responsible to enlightened public opinion in general.

Minor Hints: pages 322&323.

Wishes.

I.

UNDER God's blessing may Your Highness's career be long, happy and honourable, and pre-eminently distinguished for justice, wisdom and benevolence.

Minor Hints : page 323.

II.

FINALLY, esteemed Maharaja, I wish you God's choicest blessings, health and longevity, success and prosperity; and, hope that you may deserve the name and fame of a model Ruler and an exemplary Prince.

*Letters to an Indian Raja from a Political Recluse,
page 127.*

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